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ABSTRACT

This is a case study of the patterns of social-race relations and the processes producing them in a desegregated school in an industrial city in North Carolina. As an ethnographic study, the focus of the research is on the place of social race in the social order of the school. The primary objectives of this study include a description and analysis of the school as a context for black-white participation, understanding, and socialization. Also investigated are possible factors, including district-level pressures, shaping the social order found in the school. An extensive reference list is provided along with the following appendices: (1) a research data filing and categorizing system; (2) categories of information for formal observation; (3) a sociometric interview; (4) teacher interviews on desegregation; (5) field notes on relations of the school's teachers and students to the researchers; (6) an application form and collection guides for free or reduced meals and free milk; and (7) recommendations. (Author/EB)

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MOVING CLOSER:
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A SOUTHERN DESEGREGATED SCHOOL

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Moving Closer is dedicated to
the students, teachers, principal,
and staff of Grandin who let us
watch while they undertook the
sometimes painful process of
creating new patterns of black/white
relations in the school.

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ABSTRACT

By invalidating the old patterns of school segregation, the Federal Government brought together ingredients for a new social order in the schools. It did not, however, specify the social patterns that were to arise in the newly desegregated schools. It did not specify the extent to which blacks and whites would participate in the same groups and activities, be assured equal treatment inside the desegregated schools, or learn from one another about the nature of social differences and their interactional consequences. Instead, the difficult task of fleshing out the new patterns was left in the hands of the local community and particularly the individual school.

The difficulty of the task of creating a new order should not be underestimated. Our society provides little in the way of positive models for social-race relations. Instead, the path to new relations is clogged by the legacies of negative social-race terminology, racism as a framework for interpreting black-white interaction, and the country's

history of slavery and oppression. At the same time, there are educational requirements to be met. The principals, teachers, staff, students, and parents at Grandin have taken many positive steps in avoiding violence, extreme mistrust, and the degree of academic alientation sometimes reported for desegregated schools. If at times, or from certain perspectives, the efforts by school participants appear insufficient to surmount all the difficulties, this should not be surprising given the formidable nature of the task which the rest of the society has by-and-large left to the schools.

The present research is a two-year case study of a desegregated public elementary school in an industrial city in North Carolina. As an ethnographic study of a desegregated school, the research was focused upon the behavioral and symbolic correlates of social race -- in other words, the place of social race in the social order of the school. Our primary objectives have been to describe and analyze the school as a context for black-white participation, understanding, and socialization. Secondly, the objectives have included the investigation of possible factors, including district-level pressures, shaping the social order found in the school.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In developing a conceptual framework for the study, concepts were drawn primarily from social organizational studies of schools, from a "general cultural theory of education" developed by anthropologists, and from the concepts of social identity and opportunity structure developed by social psychologists. The resulting framework allowed us to examine the sociocultural patterns operant in the school and district as they are negotiated by participants, and to examine possible differences in opportunity structures for black versus white participants.

METHODS

The methods utilized in the study included participant observation in the school and at district-level meetings and events, standardized observations of focal students, elicitation interviews, sociometric interviews, standard-schedule interviews with teachers and parents, and unscheduled interviews with key informants. Primary focus was placed upon the school where, as an aspect of the usual approaches utilized in an ethnographic study, we followed one grade of students through their fifth and sixth grade years. On the district level, reliance was placed upon attending school board and other meetings and interviewing key figures.

FINDINGS

The City and District

In the past, a dual community system evolved in Bradford (a pseudonym) that is still discernable. As in many southern cities, patterns of racial segregation developed between black and white communities in housing, education, business, and social services. In Bradford, in conjunction with the establishment of unusually successful black businesses, a particularly bifurcated community organization developed which has been important in the development of the character of Bradford politics as interest-group interactions. In reviewing the city's history, one sees the increasing definition of the black community as an interest group that has become progressively more involved in the political arena.

Educational affairs constitute an important dimension of action in Bradford politics. For the black community, school desegregation has long been of symbolic and practical importance. After thirty years of pursuing this goal politically and in the federal courts, the community finally saw its realization in the 1970 court ruling which significantly desegregated Bradford schools. In the Spring of 1975, black plaintiffs won an additional decision and the federal court required a new step in the desegregation process. The school system was directed to achieve racial balance such that the proportions of students in each school reflected the black-white ratios of the system as a whole.

The increasing power of the black community became more apparent at this time. In the fall of 1975 the school board was, for the first time, elected rather than appointed. Of the five persons elected, four were black. Thus, the black community has seen the achievement of desegregation and a substantial increase in their voting power on the school board. In addition, there are several black educators in the school administration, some in key positions. By court order, the faculty has been desgregated (so that each school is to reflect the system-wide 1970 ratio) and the black influence in administration and on the school board suggests the possibility that more black staff may be recruited in the future.

Today, the bases of the old dual structure of the city remain in many respects. The political power base of the blacks is stronger within the city and their political voice carries more weight in that area than in the surrounding county, particularly with regard to education. In comparison, the traditionally powerful white economic interests find their political support to be stronger among county voters. It is possible to see the current development in city/county demography and relations as a shift in the relative location of the segments of the dual system. The blacks have increased their influence and population in the city, while the white groups have concentrated themselves and their power base into suburbia and, as far as the schools are concerned, into the county district.

Aside from these developments, the Bradford district can be characterized as being composed of two levels of interest and action. Transmission of information, access, and effective action is difficult between them. At the higher level, organized political groups attempt to affect policies and guidelines for the school system as a whole. These groups, primarily the major political interests in the area, are concerned with the political and symbolic aspects of education and the schools. Thus, at the higher level, for example, the proposed construction of a high school within the city is discussed in terms of its symbolic importance to the black community and for the "new" school system. At the lower level, groups are less organized, problems are more specific, and the focus of concern is often on the particular school. Action and operation is to a great extent within local and semi-autonomous networks centered around school personnel. Although decisions and issues at the higher level have difficulty addressing and dealing with problems seen at the lower level, actors in the lower level also have difficulty finding access to the higher. Currently, school leaders and concerned parents are attempting to bridge these levels more effectively. One approach has been to create advisory groups at an intermediate level to express the lower-level concerns of the school neighborhoods to school system officials and policy makers.

District Policies and the School

Grandin, the study school, is clearly structured by district-level policy and politics as vividly demonstrated in the drastic changes that have occurred in the school since desegregation. These changes have affected not only the composition of school participants, but also the organization of students and teachers within the school.

District policies have reoriented the reward structure of the school and reduced possible sources of conflict. During the last decade, there have been some indications of movement away from the traditional school reward structure, with its clear designations of successful and unsuccessful students, toward a system in which the rewards for success and failure are muted. In place of the traditional system, district policies have tended to substitute an emphasis on alternative modes of instruction for those who are not sufficiently profiting from the regular programs. Instead of failing a student who falls behind, for example, efforts are made to bring the student up to standard through programs based on individual instruction. During this period, quality programs of this type for math and reading have been emphasized although they are not available to all who are eligible for them. The innovative instruction available for "exceptionally talented" could also be viewed as part of this program of diversified instruction. These "resource" classes (as these special programs are referred to) are used in conjunction with "mainstreaming" where students receive instruction for most of the day with their regular class.

Another focus of district reorientation which has served to reduce sources of conflict has been increased attempts to ensure equal treatment. School classrooms and teacher assignments, for example, are racially balanced. In certain resource classes where white and black students tend to be disproportionately represented, explicit procedures (including parental permission) have been introduced which make charges of discrimination more difficult to sustain. Attempts have been made to reduce the labeling impact of these groupings by the practice of mainstreaming. These rearrangements and the tendency toward reorientation of the traditional reward structure of the schools have affected the organization of the schools, including the study school.

Inside the School

Inside the school, we analyze the social organization as consisting of three levels; the formal, semi-formal, and informal. These levels represent sources of legitimization for the groupings, categories, and rules that are respected in the school. For the various groupings of school participants and the rules that affect them, there are values attached to different styles of performance such that those who seek rewards in the system are evaluated according to these values. In examining the opportunity structure of the school for teachers, we find that the teachers at Grandin encounter a social organization and an opportunity structure many dimensions of which are probably similar to what existed prior to desegregation. Aside from elimination of social race as a basis for discrimination, the ways in which teachers and the principal handle conflicts and evaluate one another's performances seem to have undergone little change. Due to the increased heterogeneity among teachers in terms of disciplinary, instructional, and personal styles, however, there is greater potential for conflict. Thus, mechanisms for conflict settlement, which consist primarily of mediation by the principal or certain teachers, are placed under more strain in the desegregated school. Mechanisms of conflict avoidance are better developed.

For students, we notice a number of factors that are important. First, as with teachers, the differentiation of students by social race is relatively unimportant at the formal and semi-formal levels. Second, learner identities are not very salient to most Grandin students. As has been found for students in many high schools, students at Grandin tend to be more involved with the identities that are rewarded in the student system. Third, in line with district policies, marked school differentiation of students according to academic ability or progress is not in evidence at Grandin. The present system appears to stimulate students to think of their abilities as differentiated according to subjects. The global labeling that accompanies tracking or the organization of students into "low," "medium," and "high" classes was not found. The present system of mainstreaming avoids differentiating students into a single ranking system as has been reported in other schools, and correspondingly we do *not* find the development of pro-school and anti-school student groups. Similarly, we do *not* find the differentiation of students on the basis of "pariah" cues as sometimes found in other studies.

A fourth point about the student system constitutes an important aspect of the data on opportunity structure for students. Most of the students are not from markedly different social-class backgrounds; the majority are from working-class backgrounds. Nonetheless, there is a small, but significant, amount of variation that exists between black and white students in valued and familiar identities. In terms of identities that are promulgated by the formal and semi-formal systems in the school, black and white students are similar. In the informal student system, however, the identities with which the black students are familiar differ somewhat from those with which the white students are familiar. At times these differences lead to interactional problems. Because of slight cultural differences, it is often difficult for white students to understand certain black styles of behavior, while for some of the black students certain white identities are easily misinterpreted. For example, behavioral styles which white girls might interpret as "sweet" some black students might interpret as "immature" or "babyish."

These differences among the valued identities of white and black students can lead to problems when black and white students try to form cross-color friendships. Students constantly attempt to establish such relationships, but often find it hard to overcome misunderstandings related to differences in styles of behavior. As a result, informal groupings and relationships that occur in the shcool tend to be segregated by social race. This is true to a lesser degree for teachers as well. For the most part, teachers get along well and cooperate in formal and semi-formal school groups and activities. At the informal level, however, there are few cross-color relationships which encompass more than school-related interaction.

The somewhat restricted cross-color interactional patterns do not constitute the full story of social race in the school. The belief and meanings attached to color and efforts to control expression of these beliefs reveal another aspect of the emerging pattern of social-race relations. Three sources of data were examined to determine these meanings: 1) the language of social race, 2) symbolic encounters, and 3) unusual characters. These sources of data reveal that there are relatively few incidents that achieve notoriety in the school as a result of their racial overtones, although the incidents of this type that do occur have a strong impact on those involved and are difficult to resolve. The sociolinguistics of social-race terminology reveals the availability of terminology for expressing black in-group solidarity and neutral or hostile cross-color relationships. This legacy of social-race terminology and beliefs about social race, along with concepts of racism, make ready tools for expressing and rationalizing separation among blacks and whites. Their infrequent use in public, however, brings out a complexity of the situation; the use of such expressions are discouraged in the school context.

In fact, there has developed at Grandin a set of norms, especially honored by the faculty, which serves to mute or avoid conflict related to social race. Positive value is attached to manifesting politeness and sociability in interaction, to accepting rule-pluralism, to avoiding overtly racist acts, to emphasing teacher-student identities to the exclusion of social-race identities, to avoiding public discussion of certain issues related to social race, and to attributing many student problems to factors associated with social class rather than social race. This general pattern of black-white relations at Grandin is referred to here as "polite cooperation." While patterns of cross-color interaction based on such norms may not be considered entirely satisfactory, maintenance of this normative system has helped to prevent violence between blacks and whites without the institution of more spectacular controls such as police officers or dogs in the halls, which have been reported for schools in other districts. It also does not set up barriers to closer relationships and more significant patterns of interaction and information exchange, which in a few cases do occur.

It is in this context that students are learning about social-race identities and (sub)cultural differences. In order for students to learn the meanings attached to the differences in styles of some of their classmates, it is necessary that they interact in contexts where such information can be exchanged. Potential contexts are set up daily by teachers and students in the activities and events they stage. However, realization of this potential usually does not occur at Grandin because of the problems described above in making friends. WIthout cross-color friends, students have no access to the type of information that is available in these informal activities. Students also fail to acquire much information from school adults, some of whom consider it risky or outside the duties of their job to socialize students about social-race identities or cultural differences. District policy has been very limited in directing or supporting teachers in this regard. Thus, the school students tend to have peers of the same social race as their only source of information about cross-color identities and interactions.

QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

One of the more important questions about the future of Bradford schools, and the results of the reorientation of social-race relations, concerns the traditional reward structure of the schools. Bradford has moved away from the traditional system with its reliance upon rewarding and punishing students relative to differential academic achievement. In its place has been a movement, although a limited one, toward the use of resource programs which could be viewed as simply diversification of modes of instruction for those who for whatever reason require an alternative to the regular approach. Pressures have been exerted in the district to return to a more traditional approach in which, for example, students are suspended for missing too much school. In the case of attendance, these pressures have been avoided. Instead, the policy adopted requires that absent students be phoned each day. If at some point, however, there is submission to these pressures and the district returns to the traditional system, then we may guess that lower-income children will continue to show the relatively poor results that they have in the past in such systems and, thus, that black children who are over-represented in this group will continue to experience lower educational achievement. If, on the other hand, a vigorous new system is developed -- built, perhaps upon the current approach of avoiding more punitive methods of handling students' school problems while developing alternative modes of instruction geared to the strengths, weaknesses, and orientations of the particular students --then this outcome may be avoided.

A second important question has to do with a more intangible problem -- the question of what students should be taught about social race and social-race relations. Students do have questions in these areas, problems in communicating and making friends with one another, and a lack of accurate information about differences associated with social race. Some teachers undertake to alleviate these problems and have come up with promising approaches such as class discussions and rap sessions. Other teachers, although they meet the requirements specified by the district concerning black history month, opt to otherwise ignore these problems. Besides the absence of guidelines, there is also an absence of district support for teachers who lack the skills and requisite knowledge to assist students with their questions, concerns, and misunderstandings related to social race. In other words, as a result of the sensitivity of the topic to parents, the lack of district guidance, and the lack on the parts of some of the skill and knowledge required, teachings tend not to address these areas. Thus, in general students are encouraged to behave appropriately relative to the norms of polite cooperation that are fostered in the school, yet they have little rationale or ideology to motivate the behavior or to explain incidents that violate the norms. In a sense, the present arrangement in the district of more-or-less ignoring the problem is resulting in a situation where students are being taught to behave in a manner that fosters positive relations, but are not being provided with an ideology which would make sense of these behavioral rules or shore them up in times of stress.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

For future research on school desegregation, the case study of Grandin suggests five important aspects of schools that should be considered in assessing the effects of desegregation on student educational and attitudinal outcomes: (1) the degree of intergroup polarization; (2) the degree of student differentiation or stigmatization; (3) the amount of (sub)-cultural heterogeneity, (4) the degree of successful provision of information about subcultural and stylistic differences; and (5) the degree of inter-ethnic or cross-color peer socialization. These aspects of school systems should be included in processual models describing the relationship between school organization and student outcomes, not only in the study of school desegregation, but also in the study of schools in general.

PART I: STRATEGY, PROBLEM, AND METHOD

The present research is a case study of the patterns of social-race relations and the processes producing them in a desegregated elementary school in an urban area of the South. Although there has been extensive research on school desegregation in the twenty years since the process of government-mandated desegregation began, this study represents one of the few case studies of the sociocultural patterns of social race in a desegregated school. An explanation of this oversight in the research is discussed in the first chapter along with methodological issues and the design of the research. The methodology is presented in the second chapter.

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH QUESTIONS IN THE STUDY OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING RESEARCH ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Educational research is dominated by perspectives from psychology. Personal characteristics such as leadership ability, intelligence, task-orientation, and locus of control are relied upon to explain teacher and student behavior while sociocultural factors such as role expectations, class cohesion, social distance, and peer-group values are largely ignored. School participants are treated as though they were virtually unrelated units acting in a vacuum according to skills, abilities, and characteristics acquired outside the school setting.

In spite of early contributions to the sociology of education such as Willard Waller's (1932) Sociology of Teaching and Boys in White by Howard Becker, et al. (1961), both of which suggested new directions in the study of formal education, the progress of anthropologists and sociologists in remedying the imbalance in education research has been slow. Relevant research has been restricted until recently to a limited number of primarily descriptive studies; similarly, efforts to refine conceptualization of the social and cultural determinants of school behavior are of fairly recent origin.[1]

The lack of attention to sociocultural factors is particularly telling in research on school desegregation. School desegregation is, in essence, a reordering of the social and cultural dimensions of the school. With the inclusion of students of different social categories who possibly have somewhat different linguistic, behavioral, and interactional styles, the heterogeneity of the school is increased. The patterns that emerge to incorporate these differences and distinctions would seem to be of central interest in studies of desegregated contexts. Yet such dimensions are precisely the type that are ignored in most educational research in general and, unfortunately, in most research on school desegregation in particular. Research tends to be focused not upon the emerging social patterns in the desegregated school, but rather upon correlations between percentages of minority students in the school and educational outcome variables such as achievement and self-concept scores. Thus, the focus of research is severely narrowed with the complex changes wrought by desegregation being reduced to the percentage of minority students in the school and the correlation of this variable with student scores.[2]

Even if we accept the limited scope of the research, the wisdom of using percentages of minority students as a measure of desegregation might be questioned. The general literature on desegregation records the growing recognition that percentages of minority students in a school may have very little meaning. Although supporters of school desegregation in the 1950's tended to believe that the elimination of segregated schools would eradicate the stigma associated with being black and provide equal educational opportunity to black children, it soon became apparent that social barriers could be established within a school as well as between schools. Thus arose the distinction between the terms "desegregation" and "integration." Desegregation is considered to be a deliberate effort to promote new patterns of interaction between groups historically separated by the stigmatization of one group on the basis of characteristics such as skin color. Integration may be defined as a possible outcome of desegregation whereby spontaneous cooperation and acceptance between groups is achieved (Pettigrew 1969, Weinburg 1970). This distinction came to be emphasized over time as the realization grew that desegregation did not necessarily lead to integration.

The limited scope of school desegregation research explains perhaps the curious lack of development and application of theoretical arguments in the field. Studies tend to be related to empirical results of previous research rather than to a theoretical framework. This is true although both desegregation advocates and opponents have based their support or opposition on conceptual arguments which could be researched. Kenneth Clark (1973), the psychologist whose arguments concerning the psychological effects of segregation on black school children are referred to in the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Board of Education, complained for example, that some twenty years after the court's decision the concept of stigma had been ignored in research. Instead of devoting research attention to whether the stigmatization of black children had been eliminated by their inclusion in desegregated schools, the research instead had been devoted to the question of percentages of minority students and the relationship of differences in the percentages to educational outcomes or to differences in district-level variables.

Despite Clark's admonition, little subsequent attention has been focused upon stigma. (For an exception, see Cohen 1972, 1975.) Once Coleman and his co-workers (1966) had seemingly demonstrated the insignificance of qualities and quantities of teaching staff and facilities in explaining educational achievement, attention turned to the critical proportion of white students necessary before minority students experienced higher educational achievement as measured by standardized tests. This cricical exposure concept was derived from the Coleman finding of a correlation between socio-economic background of classmates and educational achievement. However, it has not been developed conceptually to any extent.

In addition to the difficulties imposed by conceptual limitations and poorly developed theory, the research on school desegregation has been hampered further by the reliance in educational research on survey and experimental research strategies. The wholesale reliance upon these approaches for school desegregation research has been unfortunate. These methodologies are valuable when the objectives of the research are to generalize the results of the study to a large population or to test a well-grounded hypothesis concerning causal relationship. They demand, however, that the research be focused on a limited number of well-defined variables that are selected prior to entry into the field. In the absence of an understanding of the context as provided by thorough familiarity through experience and/or ethnographic research, and without at least some theoretical orientation, these methods are often misapplied. Among their other uses, ethnographic methods are particularly suited for describing new situations; discovering unsuspected processual sequences that develop over a period of weeks, months, or years; or providing insights as to previously unanticipated causal factors. Experimental and survey methods are not as efficient for these purposes. For a research topic such as school desegregation which does involve a new situation and which is neither illuminated by theory nor described ethnographically, it is quite possible that surveys and experiments (although impeccably designed for statistical and inferential purposes) provide data of little conceptual significance. To ask meaningful questions, the researcher must have at least minimum background information on the setting.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Due to the manner in which school desegregation has been researched, little is known about how the sociocultural systems of schools have been reordered following desegregation -- forced or otherwise. Furthermore, we have little notion as to whether differences in these systems are adequately indicated by figures on the percentages of minority students in a school.

In order to overcome the deficit of the existing research and go beyond the limitations imposed by the use of percentages as a crude indicator of school conditions brought about by desegregation, it is necessary to ascertain through ethnographic research the types of sociocultural patterns that have emerged in the school in response to desegregation. It is necessary to examine the resulting systems in terms of the significance attributed to social race[3] as expressed in behavior and as expressed in beliefs and attitudes in desegregated schools. In 1975, when the present two-and-one-half year study began, very few case studies of desegregation were underway or had been completed in schools.[4] The present study is one of a set of six similar studies conducted in different parts of the country. The general objectives of this research were to remedy in part this dearth of ethnographic data on desegregated schools.

As a study of a desegregated school, the ethnographic research was focused upon the behavioral and symbolic correlates of social race -- in other words, the place of social race in the social order of the school. Our primary objectives have been to describe and analyze the school as a context for black-white participation, interaction, and socialization. Secondly, the objectives have included the gathering of data on the factors, including district-level pressures, shaping the social order found in the school. Each of the two objectives are briefly discussed in turn.

The School as a Context for Black-White Participation, Interaction, and Socialization

Anthropologists and sociologists working in educational settings (including Eleanor Leacock 1969; Gerry Rosenfeld 1971; Murray Wax 1971; Charles Valentine 1971; John Ogbu 1973; Ray Rist 1973; George Spindler 1973, 1974;

Harry Wolcott 1973; Solon Kimball 1974; and Ray McDermott 1974) have tended to stress the social and cultural context of learning perhaps because their studies concerned minority education where the effects of social factors are so apparent. These findings from research on minority education, as well as a theoretical approach referred to by its originators as a "general cultural theory of education" (Gearing 1976a, b; described in more detail below), have identified social and cultural barriers to learning wherein students of lower-income and minority groups are often not expected to learn, are placed in situations where they are faced with value conflict, and/or are confronted with lower-status positions which they do not accept.

Similarly suggestive is the work of sociologists such as Coleman (1965) and Scrupski (1975) which indicates that social organizational features such as the grading system or presence or absence of extracurricular activities affects student values and student groupings.

This work, which will be discussed in more detail in Part III, when extrapolated to a desegregated school, yields a number of sensitizing questions:

1. Do black and white students differentially participate in formal and informal activities and groups in the school? What factors seem to influence differential participation? How are students sorted into these groups? Do black students have white friends and vice versa?
2. What attitude is conveyed in the school toward the different groups of students? What are the attitudes expressed in school about the dialects, styles of behavior, and skills that

students bring with them from home?

3. How are students differentiated by the school? How do students react to these classifications?
4. In what situations do black and white students interact? What type of relationships do they have?
5. How do students conceptualize others in the school? In what contexts is the category of social race important? Are social-race terms used in the school and in what contexts? How are black-white relations interpreted?
6. What seem to be the readjustments and realignments that have come about as a part of school desegregation? How do teachers and parents evaluate the changes in the schools? What is done to handle problems and conflicts related to social race?
7. How are students socialized about race in the school? What are students learning about social race from peers? From adults?
8. What other features of school organization affect and are affected by social-race relations?
9. What other features of classroom organization affect and are affected by social-race relations?

District-Level Factors Influencing the School

In keeping with the focus upon the sociocultural organization of the desegregated school, it is necessary as well to study the broader context in which the school exists. A very important aspect of this context is the district-level organization. As a recent description of desegregation in a rural district provided by Eddy (1975) so clearly shows, district-level decisions and policy may be instrumental in structuring relations among black and white teachers and students. Owing to the vulnerability of school in this regard, it is necessary to gain a perspective on district-level operations in relation to desegregation. Particularly, we began the study with a concern for:

1) identifying the desegregation-related issues of concern in the district now and in the past;
2) ascertaining the groups that are involved in the issues and what their stances are on the desired outcomes of desegregation;
3) determining how these issues are resolved into policy and how this is passed on to the school; and
4) examining the effect of these policies on the quality of black-white relations in the school.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

An ethnographic study is distinctive from survey or experimental research in that it is an in-depth investigation of one case over a period of months or years. Guided by the purpose of the ethnography, the researcher sets out to document and analyze the natural stream of events and the interpretations and descriptions of those events as viewed by the participants. Exposure to the actual time ordering of events and to the symbolic and behavioral context of the events provides a holistic view that is sacrificed in survey or experimental research where the investigation must be limited to a small number of variables investigated over a short time span. The ethnographer, on the other hand, in order to describe and analyze one case in depth, sacrifices a coverage of numerous cases and the control over variables that is held by the experimenter.

CASE SELECTION

The case in the present study is a public school in the City School District of Bradford, North Carolina. The district provides an important context for study because of the unusual strength and organization of the city's black community. The recent gains in black representation on the school board and in other areas renders the history of the district and changes in the schools in this case particularly timely.

An upper level elementary school[1] was selected for study in response to the limited though interesting data which suggest that students informally segregate themselves in the secondary, but not in the early primary grades.

A careful look at a cohort of students moving through fifth and sixth grades, it was anticipated, might shed light on the timing and nature of this process. In the course of the study, the school's 1975-76 fifth grade students were followed for two years -- through both the fifth and sixth grades. This allowed us to follow the development of friendship patterns within the group over the two-year period while they approached and entered adolescence and through two successive sets of teachers and two groups of classmates.

SOURCES OF DATA

The primary method in all ethnographic research is participant observation. The objective of this method is to observe and record the actions and interpretations of people involved in their usual activities. The extensive notes which are maintained on these general observations and informal interviews, along with available documents and data collected from standardized interviews and observations, constitute the body of data that is analyzed to produce the ethnography. (Sources on the ethnographic method include Becker and Greer 1960; McCall and Simmons 1966; Naroll and Cohen 1970; Burnett 1969; Lofland 1971; and Wolcott 1973.)

General Observations

For the present study, as participant observers, we made an effort to observe as many different activities that went on in the school as possible. We attempted to describe these activities utilizing the terminology and interpretations of the participants. At the same time, we noted our own interpretations of the activities and paid especial attention to behavior which seemed to be related to social race; to the social identities available in the school; to the formal and informal rules followed by school participants; to the formal and informal groupings in the school; and to the socialization of students about social race and cross-social-race relationships.

Some of the events or activities observed are recurrent events[2] that happen at scheduled times, such as class or PTA meetings; others are infrequent and occur only once during a student's career at Grandin. The sixth grade banquet would be an example of the latter. In describing a class, a PTA meeting, or an event such as the banquet, a running description is kept (to the extent possible) with attention focused on the activities leading up to and constituting the event proper, the people present, and their behavior as compared to other situations such as Field Day (a series of outdoor contests pitting classes against one another). Because of the particular focus of the study, our attention was attracted, in the case of the banquet for example, to who brought whom (the boys invited the girls), which couples sat together, who danced with whom, what aspects of one another students commented upon, styles of dress, and so forth. In other words, each of the activities that occurred provided an opportunity or a set of conditions under which a facet of the social meaning of race, the informal groupings, and the social identities of the students could emerge.

The research notes were maintained, along with various pieces of coded information as to who collected them, where they were collected, who was present, and other aspects of the observational situation, in a file that is cross-indexed by a system of categories. The filing categories are given in

Appendix A.

Formal Observations

In addition to the description of events as they arose, we also collected more standardized observations. These "formal observations," as opposed to the "general observations" described above, were made mostly in the classroom where the elementary school students spend most of their approximately six-and-a-half hour school days. Our observations in the classroom were guided by the collection of running descriptions of teacher-student interaction and student-student interaction for twenty-five "focal" students who were selected at the end of the second month of the study. The teacher-student interactions that these students engaged in were observed approximately ten times each year as were the student-student interactions. (Student-student interactions were also observed for these students in other settings such as the cafeteria.)

These "formal observations" were recorded as running descriptions with the proviso that certain categories of information would always be included (see Appendix B).

Focal Students

The reasons for choosing focal students included the consideration that the opportunity structure of the school is not the same for all students. Neither do all students take advantage of the same opportunities. As a result of the possibility that students would be differentially treated and have varying interests and orientations, it was necessary to become acquainted with individuals as individuals. We suspected, for example, that students would respond differently to different styles of classroom organization and thus wanted to have comparative data. Finally, we suspected that processes of group formation and student socialization about black-white relations occur over fairly lengthy periods; thus, we needed to follow student friendship careers. Focal students were selected as case studies due to the impossibility of following all the students.

The sample of students chosen to be focal students was a judgmental sample based on an effort to select a range of students, including half black, half white, half male, half female. Within these groups, we attempted to chose students who represented different adaptations to school. The representativeness of the sample may be judged by comparing it to the characteristics of the overall student group according to data collected from the student records. (Compare Tables 2.1 and 4.2)

An additional purpose of the "formal observations" of focal students was to attempt to reduce bias in the study. There are numerous problems that confront an anthropologist who seeks to do research in his or her own environment, especially in a situation so politicized as school desegregation. Because there are a number of stereotypes about desegregated schools (see Clement, Eisenhart, and Wood 1976), it was reasoned that without safeguards, it would be possible to go into the school and notice only data that fit one of these stereotypes. Without guidelines as to who and what must be observed, we were concerned lest we focus only on students or teachers who were doing "interesting" things or incidents that were exciting or bizarre relative to desegregation. By purposely observing certain students for a

TABLE 2.1*: SOCIAL RACE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF ALL FOCAL STUDENTS (1975-1976)**

	Females	Males
Blacks	6	6
Whites	6	7

*(Compare with Table 4.2. The sex ratios are approximately equal. The actual social-race composition was about 66% blacks.

**Of the twenty-five students who were originally chosen as focal students, six students, all of whom were white, left either during the 1975-76 school year or failed to return to Grandin the next year. (Among all 1975-76 white fifth graders, 20% left the school or failed to return for the 1976-77 school year.) Two of the black girls left during the second year. At the beginning of the 1976-77 school year, three additional students (2 whites and 1 black) were chosen as focals. In addition, one of the departed focal students transferred back to Grandin during the second half of the 1976-77 school year.

pre-set amount of time, it was more difficult to pigeon-hole students or teachers into simplistic categories.

A second concern with bias was the possibility of attributing to teachers and staff responsibilities which could better be attributed to the action of the school board, administrators in the central office, or a feature of the system. The teachers, principal, and staff are the interface between the school system and the students. The extent to which they are free to affect black-white relations in the school was regarded as an empirical question.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF DATA

Most of the school day at Grandin is tightly scheduled. At district events, the periods preceding and following events are important as times for making contacts and exchanging information. Thus, in both areas of research it was often difficult to ask questions about events as they occurred. Teachers are very busy as are administrators; thus, it is difficult to request that they spend much time in interviews. Students are much more willing to sit around at school and discuss aspects of being a student, but their teachers frown on excessive disruption of this type. For these reasons, it was necessary to learn as much as possible through observation, through being present at discussions, and through brief informal interviews.

An attempt to overcome this problem of limited time to talk with students involved collecting a set of open-ended interviews which we refer to as the "Talking Diary" interviews. A researcher met with ten different students (eight of whom were focal students) once a week for approximately ten weeks. In each interview, the interviewer asked the student about what had gone on at school since they had last met. Using this approach, it was possible to remedy some of the difficulty of limited time with the students.

These interviews with the students were also supplemented by another type of interview referred to as "Elicitation Interviews." These interviews concerned terminology that students used to refer to school participants, school events, and beliefs about those events and participants. (See Frake 1962, 1964; Black and Metzger 1969; Harding 1973; Clement 1974, 1976; and Harding and Clement 1976 for descriptions of ethnoscience techniques in interviewing.) These interviews were used to supplement what we had learned of social identities, groups, relationships, and expectations that students perceive as being important in the school.

A final type of interview administered to students was the sociometric interview. Each student was asked to indicate (1) desired work partners from among his or her classmates and (2) desired classmates for next year from among all fellow students in the grade. (A copy of the form is included in Appendix C.) This interview was administered at the end of both school years.

In addition to numerous informal discussions, teachers were exposed to more formal interviews of three types. At the end of the study, ten teachers were interviewed specifically about desegregation and desegregation-related issued. (See Appendix D for a copy of the interview schedule.) An attempt was made to interview a cross-section of the teachers. Secondly, teachers were asked at the end of the project to fill out a short questionnaire on their teaching experience, place and type of training, and so forth. In addition, a few teachers were interviewed using the elicitation style described above concerning types of students and the meaning of the phrase "maintaining control." One of the teachers who also drove a taxi spent a day during the summer giving us a tour of the neighborhoods of the students.

Firsthand observation on the district level was restricted in that we attempted to attend only the board meetings on a regular basis. A number of meetings of an informal luncheon group of townspeople was attended more sporadically and most of the meetings of a citywide steering committee for the schools were attended. Other meetings, such as that of the regional chapter of the North Carolina Association of Educators, were attended only once. Primarily, the data-collection strategy was interviewing. About thirty interviews were collected from townspeople involved in groups active in desegregation-related issues. Monitoring of the local daily newspaper over the two year study period and for the five year period prior to the onset of the study provided an initial introduction to, and continually updated information on, the individuals, groups, and issues related to school desegregation in the district.

The approach of selecting issues and following their development as a strategy for illuminating the social structural and symbolic features of a social group has been referred to by Van Velsen (1967) as "situational analysis." This approach was also utilized in the study of the school through the analysis of what are terming "symbolic encounters." (See Chapter 8.) The approach is valuable not only because it provides guidelines for data collection and analysis compatible with general ethnographic methods, but it is also compatible with our assumption that social rules are constantly exposed to negotiation. By examining encounters which are considered out of the ordinary, and the relative positions that actors take on the issues involved, it is possible to examine attempts to modify or manipulate the rules.

Parent Interviews

The formal role of parents in school activities, either at the building or district level is limited and for the most part voluntary. By attending only school-related activities it is quite easy to miss most parents since they attend only the performances given by students for holidays and celebrations such as the Bicentenial. In order to more clearly ascertain their roles in the school and their feelings about the school and desegregation, fifteen interviews were collected from parents at their homes. (See Appendix E for the interview schedule.) Other informal interviews were conducted during the course of the project with parents elected to PTA offices, parents who removed their children from the school, and so forth.

Documents

The school system produces records and descriptions which are useful to the research. Extensive records are maintained on such things as student attendance and school enrollments. These records plus self-study reports, PTA manuals, report card forms, teacher evaluation schedules, and the like provide a view of the official concerns and categories of the district. These documents can be utilized in various ways. The dittoed notices passed out by the principal to the teachers and staff and the announcements made at faculty meetings provide one source of information about the directives emanating from the central office. As already mentioned, the newspaper coverage of school news allowed an initial mapping of the individuals, groups, and issues related to desegregation in the district.

Analysis

In a case study, analysis of the data proceeds through development of what Denzin (1970) refers to as "universal propositions." The analyst considers all examples of a give phenomenon recorded in the notes, along with any relevant quantitative data, and attempts to develop an analysis that integrates all pieces of the data. Thus, for example, were the topic of fights to be described, the notes would be reviewed for all cases of observed fights, descriptions of fights, mentions of fights in the elicitation interviews or documents, and casual references to fights in interviews on other topics. These data would be combined with the results from the standardized interviews on rules to produce a description and analysis of fights that occur at the school, their meaning to participants in the school, and the conditions under which they occur. Or, as in the case of terminology used to discuss social race, all incidents of the use of a social-race term were culled from the notes as were interviews on social-race terms. These examples of social-race terminology were examined to produce the analysis given in Chapter 8.

In this fashion, both quantitative and qualitative data are reviewed in terms of their contribution to the over-all analysis. Although the quantitative data are analyzed by statistical methods,[3] the results are interwoven with the qualitative data into an integrated interpretation of the phenomenon.[4]

A difficulty with the qualitative data of an ethnography is that most of it is not easily presented in summary form as are the figures from questionnaires or other standardized formats. Attempts to solve this problem include the suggestion by Johnson (1976) in his study of a rural desegregated school in the midwest. His approach is to reproduce the field notes, including first-order interpretations in the margins. His dissertation, which contains the notes made during all-day observations of each class of a kindergarten through sixth grade elementary school, is approximately five hundred pages long. For our general and formal observations alone, we have over a thousand pages of typed notes. To include these notes plus the interviews (where for the "Talking Diary" interviews we also have over a thousand pages), newspaper articles, and other documents in addition to the analysis presented in the following chapters is obviously not feasible. We have attempted to solve the difficulty to some degree by including a list of the categories by which the observations, interviews, and documents were coded (see Appendix A) and to indicate where appropriate the number of examples encountered.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND STUDY LIMITATIONS

The Role of Participant Observer: Reactive Effects

A participant observer, as the label implies, is a person who is involved as an actor in the on-going stream of activities at the same time he or she is aware of the behavior of the other participants from a "scientific" perspective. This dualistic stance demands an emotional detachment which becomes more difficult to maintain as personal involvement with the participants increases. The role of the researcher as participant may span the gamut from a concealed observer (a role now largely discredited on ethical grounds) to an observer who takes no part in the on-going activities. The three of us who worked as participant observers in the school participated as more than observers only in some of the extra-classroom activities. In the classroom, although we were used minimally as resource people by the teachers and students, we attempted not to interfere in the on-going activities. The students and some of the teachers expected that we would intervene in misbehavior of the students while the teacher was out of the room. This expectation, however, dissipated. Only once was an intervention made and that was when it appeared that bodily harm might befall a student who seemed to be a likely candidate for getting hit on the head with a bottle.

The primary value of the ethnographic approach is that it provides data on the natural flow of events, on behavior in context. For this reason, the relationship of the researcher to the participants in the society or institution is important. The relationship affects the type of data that can be collected in the situation. The altering of behavior and concealment that occurs in response to an observer's presence must be taken into account. and assessed. A participant observer who is not trusted or who is somehow inappropriate may very well see only that side of life that is exposed to distrusted strangers. Fortunately, it is generally possible to demonstrate that one deserves more trust; nonetheless, it must always be assumed that just as for other participants in the situation, some aspects of the situation are hidden to the observer and thus, to some extent, the study is always limited.

In the present study, the relationships of the researchers to the people in the district and the school were complex and varied considerably over time. Over the course of the study, some of the teachers who had been wary of our presence at first became more relaxed while, in one case, one who had initially been trusting came to be suspicious and prevented us from observing in her class. Students as well varied in their response, some waxing and waning as they were included or not included in a particular round of interviews that was being done. In order that the reader may acquire more information on how we were regarded by the participants in the school, a listing is included in Appendix F of a few comments made about or to a researcher concerning the researchers' roles.

The most important initial feature of our activities to the teachers was the fact that we were observing in their classrooms. Teachers, especially in traditional classrooms, are performers whose minimal task is to keep the students sufficiently engaged, hopefully in learning activities, so that they do not take over control of the classroom or become chaotic. The task is difficult enough without having someone else in the room who may not only be a disruptive force but also a potential critic of one's performance. It would probably be impossible for a teacher to feel that an observer who is not an apprentice teacher is anything but an evaluator since most observers, such as the principal or someone from the central office, are evaluators. Even at the end of the field research period, at a party we held for the teachers and staff, the person making the thank-you speech joked about feelings associated with us being in the room on a "bad day."

To some extent, the teachers concern with us as evaluators was not totally unrealistic given the nature of our study. As described in Chapter 8 (Symbolic Encounters), adults at the school are sensitive to racism as a symbolic frame that can be applied to behavioral sequences. Particularly since they knew that our focus was desegregation, that black-white relations in the schools are a political issue in Bradford, and that it might be difficult to conceal the identity of the school, it was reasonable to worry about allowing us access to potentially sensitive information. A charge of racism leveled at a teacher on the basis of our data could bring that individual a great amount of difficulty.

At best for the teachers and staff, we were people to talk to who would listen and sometimes talk about interesting things. We were also helpful at times, doing little things here and there. For a week each year, we brought in a teacher to conduct social science classes using the MACOS (Man: A Course of Study) curriculum materials. At worst, we were annoying spies.

For the students, we were curiosities -- adults in the school, and therefore teachers, who never taught. One student solved this dilemma the first year by referring to us as "watcher teachers." Because of this role attribution we were thought to be spies who would report evil doings to a teacher or principal. Eventually this conceptualization passed to be replaced with the role of anthropologist, which included "writing a book about the school" -- an explanation offered by one of the students and quickly adopted. Students asked many, many questions about what we were writing down, who we gave it to, who was the boss, and so forth. Some of these comments are included in Appendix F. A few of the teachers had told their classes we were there to study what the students interpreted as "how blacks and whites get along." One day at lunch, a student treated one of the researchers to the specter that all the students were modifying their behavior just for our benefit. Normally, she argued, the blacks would not sit near or interact with the whites, but rather would look at them in hostile ways which she demonstrated on the white girl sitting next to her. Fortunately for the researcher's sanity, she went on to explain that she and the others had modified their behavior at first, but stopped after they got used to us.

Once the students found out that we were sometimes willing to play games, give things away, take them places, and loan school supplies, we entered into a new relationship that was more like a peer. This was true especially for those involved in the Talking Diary interviews. Students also began to see us as people who needed to be socialized. Tricia provides the following criticism of Harding, who while trying to avoid disrupting a class in progress, evidently was violating the rules for the class of saying hello when entering.

> "He didn't even say 'hey'. Tomorrow, I'm going to tell him, well, why can't, if you gonna be in the school, why not speak -- it doesn't hurt ... you don't have to if you don't want to, but you in this school, so why not do it?"

Clement was told that she needed to go to "dancing school."

The three researchers who spent the most time in the school were white. The project, however, did profit from the participation of black interviewers for some of the parent and student interviews and from input from a black consultant and a black NIE official.[5] The advantage of having three researchers at different stages in their careers, having different statuses, and being of different sexes, were clear in that each researcher established a different set of relationships. Had one or more members of the team been black, undoubtedly a somewhat different set of data would have been obtained. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the general conclusions about the structural and symbolic position of social race at Grandin would be different. In analyzing the data, which include evidence of reactive effects of our presence, an attempt is made to account for such effects. For example, the astute student who frightened the researcher with her criticism of the study also provided the researcher with some valuable data.[6] Among other things, the student's position indicated her assumption that the students would try to delude the researchers into thinking that the black and white students at Grandin got along well. Why did she see this as reasonable? Why instead did she not choose to tell the researcher that the students in fact acted nastier to each other in the researcher's presence than they really did? Along with other pieces of information, this information can be included to build up an interpretation of the process of creating and maintaining an image of the school and the student's perceived interest in that image.

Limitations of the Study

The advantages of the case-study approach include within them its weaknesses. The in-depth view, the longer time span, and the exploratory insights are all gained at the sacrifice of numerous cases or careful control and manipulation of the variables as is possible with survey and experimental research. Because the study focused upon one school, we cannot claim that the results are comparable to what would have been found in other public schools in the South, or in the nation. Grandin may very well be unique. We know that Grandin, for example, is seen as unique in the district because the neighborhood was considered to be one of the more resistant to desegregation. We could compare it to other schools in terms of the size of the faculty, the age of the facilities, and so forth, yet we cannot compare Grandin on the features which are the focus of the study because such data have not been collected elsewhere. It is not known, then, to what extent the informal patterns found at Grandin are replicated elsewhere in the district.

The purpose of ethnographic research in a context such as school desegregation in which change is still occurring at a rapid rate and in which variations and alternatives are unknown, is not to describe a typical desegregated school. Rather, it is to describe a desegregated school so that a case may be provided for comparison with other cases and so that initial formulations and insights about the process of desegregation may be developed which will provide a basis for the formulation of meaningful questions to be asked (perhaps using a survey strategy) in a broader sample of schools.

It must also be pointed out that the findings of this study definitely should not be generalized to early primary or post-elementary grades. Our research was designed to describe a period in the development of informal segregation patterns that are found at the secondary school level and must be considered in that total context. As Johnson (1976) cogently argues, schooling must be viewed as a totality in which the various grades are functionally related to the whole. Grandin teachers warn their fifth and sixth grade students that the passage through school grows considerably rougher in junior high with teachers having less time to give students individual attention and prevent them from falling behind. If indeed academic reckoning occurs in the later grades, then it might be wondered if black and white students fare equally well, how they are treated, and the resultant effects on the student social system. The patterns found for the fifth and sixth grades may well be altered by later grades although we would argue that some of the causal factors evident from this study can be extrapolated to the secondary level. Thus, for example, we would hypothesize that schools in which the students are regrouped for each subject will be less likely to have cross-color friendships.

A similar point could be developed concerning the relationship of our findings to non-public schools or to schools where students are of different social-class backgrounds. A number of researchers and theorists on the function of schooling in our society have pointed out that schools train students to fit into the channels and slots that are allocated to adults according to sex, social race, and social-class background (see, for example, Leacock 1969; Ogbu 1974, n.d.; Gintis and Bowles 1976). The student body at Grandin comes from essentially working-class backgrounds with many coming from families below the poverty line. Bradford City Schools retain a traditional classroom organization in most classes, while nearby schools for students of higher-income level families have tended to convert to newer types of arrangements. The differences in the organization of these other schools and the different aspirations for the students in them may well produce a situation in which the behavioral and symbolic significance of social race are different than they are at Grandin.

Lacking knowledge of the system that the students will confront in later grades, and lacking adequate knowledge of the functional relationship between Grandin and the alternative schools in the area (including expensive private schools, "segregation" and Christian academies, the county schools, and those of another nearby district), it is also difficult to answer a question frequently posed to the researchers by colleagues and interested parties, namely: Is Grandin a good school? Anthropologists who study outside their own society are rarely asked questions such as: Is the Samoan kinship system a good one? The alternative ways of answering this question are to adopt the probable categories of the questioner and reply in terms of whether the educational approach seems to foster creativity, independence, mastery of concepts, or whatever criteria the questioner holds. The other alternative is to attempt to assess the school in terms of the relationship of its students to the alternatives available in the society. On that basis, we might suppose that the current graduates of Grandin probably will not reach the upper hierarchical tiers of our society as measured by education, by income, and by occupational status; not necessarily because they lack ability, but because they will for various reasons not finish high school, not attend the right college, or not master the appropriate styles of behavior and speaking that are positively rewarded by academic degrees and high-paying jobs. In order to assess the role of Grandin with regard to creativity, the process of channeling, or some other criterion, the data would have to be reanalyzed and additional data would have to be collected. The purpose of the present study was not to answer the question of the quality of education provided by Grandin, but to ask to what extent the school is organized around social race and to what extent the opportunities offered at Grandin are equally available to black and white students.

A final limitation, that of the reactive effects of the presence of participant observers, has already been discussed. As with every ethnographic study, and indeed with almost all social research that involves contact of the researcher with the population, there are reactive effects which cannot be avoided. The strategy in ethnographic research is to be aware of information on reactive effects and to build it into the analysis.

A NOTE ON CONFIDENTIALITY

Another problem of doing research in an institution in one's own society is that there is a greater potential that the research findings will affect the situation that one has studied. This is all to the good if the results are utilized in a beneficial and constructive manner. In a situation as politicized as school desegregation, however, it is quite possible that the data might be used against selected individuals in the on-going negotiation of the emergent system. This is not our intent and to that end we have tried to disguise the school and the district in which the study was conducted, primarily by using pseudonyms, and attempting to omit distinguishing characteristics that are not crucial to the findings.

The point at which misuse of the results would be most likely are at the district and school levels where the identification of the school will be difficult to disguise. For this reason, we have taken utmost care to disguise the identity of the individuals involved. Thus, individuals are never referred to by their real names. Furthermore, teachers and administrators sometimes are referred to by their correct sex, sometimes not, if sex seems irrelevant. The social race of an individual is never changed, but may be omitted if it is irrelevant. The subjects of resource and special-subject teachers are in some cases shifted so that the music teacher may be referred to as the art teacher, for example. In addition, because of the ease of identification of the principal, we have followed the practice of referring to the principal as a teacher if the role status of principal does not seem important to the data being presented.

In the case of students, the disguise is limited to pseudonyms. Given that some case histories of students will be presented, it is possible that enough information will be available to allow teachers to identify particular students. This is considered to be less important than it might seem since the students in our sample have graduated from Grandin and are unlikely to encounter these teachers again. Additionally, since the information included in the descriptions is information of which teachers were either aware or suspected, it is also unlikely that we would add anything of great interest to their personal knowledge of individual students. For these reasons, it seemed less crucial that the identities of the students be as carefully concealed as are those of the teachers and administrators.

The necessity of concealing identity means that those who might be attacked by their fellows are protected; yet it also means that those who would earn praise will be disguised as well. At Grandin, there are both types.

PART II: CITY, DISTRICT AND SCHOOL

The characteristics of Bradford as a city form the context in which the schools must operate. These features have their bases in the growth and development of Bradford as an industrial center.

Beginning in the 1860's, several tobacco processing firms were established in Bradford; development of the industry was rapid and the local entrepreneurs amassed considerable fortunes as Bradford grew into a tobacco center. The subsequent growth of the city was built on the foundation of capital established by these early firms.

Bradford's industries were directed by a relatively small group of owners and entrepreneurs. Although these businessmen profited initially from their investments in the tobacco factories, they soon expanded their interests to include other ventures. In the mid-1880's, textile mills began to operate in the town and the surrounding area. Other interests developed in the late 19th and early 20th century included railroads, electric power, banking, and other commercial enterprises. During this period of development, investments originated primarily from a few sources (a group of less than fifty major figures). Correspondingly, there was a tendency for industrial ownership to be concentrated in this group. Given the "factory-town" nature of early Bradford, these men had tremendous influence on the city's character and growth. This dominance was exercised both through business decisions and through the active involvement in the town's civic life that many of the business leaders exhibited.

As a focus of industrial activity in the unsettled period after the Civil War, Bradford attracted large numbers of persons, both black and white, seeking employment in the factories. Service industry opportunities increased as the town's population grew. The displacement of farming families from their land in the late 19th and the 20th centuries contributed to the flow of workers seeking employment in the area. Thus, very early in its history, Bradford exhibited a pattern of great disparity in socio-economic status between major segments of its population, i.e., between the industrial owners and operators and the large numbers of unskilled, blue-collar laborers in the various factories and mills. This pattern persisted for many years and was the initial basis for socio-economic divisions still visible at present.

The influx of workers into Bradford after the Civil War included many blacks. Although many of them joined the labor force in the tobacco factories, others entered service employment and some set up local businesses (e.g., lumber stores and brick works) and put early investment earnings into real estate. Around the turn of the century a group of black investors succeeded in the establishment of an insurance company to serve the black community in Bradford and, later, other areas of the Southeast. This enterprise grew rapidly and provided its owners with capital for the establishment of banking firms, investments in real estate, and other such business ventures. These ventures focused on the black community, which was residentially and otherwise segregated from white sections of the city. Thus, the black companies were not in direct competition with the white economy. These early black entrepreneurs also seem to have adopted a low political profile.

Bradford was probably not very different from most other southern cities in having a dual system of black and white business and community structures. However, in Bradford, black business was quite successful. As their companies grew, these businessmen turned to the market among blacks outside of Bradford. The distinctive results of these successful ventures were that the black community in the city developed a strong economic base that was (more or less) financially independent of the local white business interests; correspondingly, a middle class composed of workers in the insurance companies, banks, and other enterprises arose in the black community.

The presence of business leaders provided a focus for the black population in the area. In the city's history, one can see the increasing definition of the black community as an interest group that has become progressively more involved in the political arena. In particular, this group took an interest in education.

As shall be detailed in Chapter 3, the existence of this economically viable black middle class was a key factor in the particular process of desegregation in public education experienced in Bradford. The nature of district policies bearing some connection to desegregation are described in this chapter.

In the Bradford schools, we find two levels of interest and action. At the higher level, organized political groups attempt to affect policies and guidelines for the school system as a whole. These groups, primarily the major political interests in the area, are concerned with the political and symbolic aspects of education and the schools. At the lower level, groups are less organized, problems are more specific, and the focus of concern is often on the particular school. Action and operation is to a great extent within local and semi-autonomous networks centered around school personnel. Although decisions and issues at the higher level have difficulty addressing and dealing with problems seen at the lower lever, actors in the lower level also have difficulty finding access to the higher. Currently, school leaders and concerned parents seem to be attempting to bridge these levels more effectively. One approach has been to create advisory groups at an intermediate level to express the lower-level concerns of the school neighborhoods to school system officials and policy makers.

The school-related activities of these groups and the decisions made by them constitute external sources of influence which impact on the individual school. In Chapter 4, the effects of these outside pressures on one particular school are discussed.

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNITY POLITICS AND THE PROCESS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BRADFORD[1]

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

In the past, a dual community system evolved in Bradford. This system is still discernable today. As in many southern cities, patterns of racial segregation in housing and in education were two of many aspects of the traditional division between black and white communities. Business and social services were also distinct for each group, e.g., white funeral homes were not (and are not) patronized by black clients, and vice versa. In Bradford, in conjunction with the establishment of unusually successful black businesses, a particularly bifurcated community organization developed. Bradford blacks, in time, supported, in parallel with corresponding white institutions, their own university, schools, small businesses, churches, social structure, and network of leaders.

Presently, socioeconomic status and social race are still reflected in residential patterns in the Bradford area. Most of the low-income families are located in the city. The construction of subsidized-rent housing projects for low and moderate income families during the 1960's and 1970's have further concentrated these families in particular areas of the city. Social-race segregation is found, especially in many of the lower-income sections, with most of the low-income black families located in traditionally black areas in the southern part of the city. In general, the black segment of the population is concentrated in the city where blacks constitute 38% of the city population of approximately 100,000.

In contrast to the concentration of low-income groups, the surrounding county area seems to be the focus for middle-class settlement. The county population is predominantly white (83.3%) although there is apparently a growing segment of upper-middle and middle-income black families.

A good portion of the suburban fringe surrounding the city has been incorporated into the city limits by annexation since 1950. However, because newly incorporated neighborhoods must decide by vote or petition whether to join the city school district, city and school district boundaries are not the same. Some recently annexed white areas and all of the predominantly black areas have elected to join the city school district. Several white neighborhoods, however, have chosen to remain in the county system. The number of such communities has accumulated to the point where there is now a substantial population residing within the city administrative unit but sending about 4000 school children into the county school and paying school taxes to the county district. These communities, which are administratively part of the city but not part of the city school district, are known as the "city-out" area.

The economic and demographic conditions experienced in the Bradford area during the past twenty years have had their effect on the schools. The concentration of large numbers of white middle-class residents in the urban fringe and in the "city-out" area of the county district has increased the enrollment in county schools while enrollment in the city system has declined. The city schools have become more black and less "rich," i.e., the average income levels of families whose children are attending Bradford schools are lower than those of families in the past. The county schools have also become more black but are less so than in the city.[2] (See Table 3.2.)

TABLE 3.2: ENROLLMENT IN BRADFORD CITY AND COUNTY SCHOOLS: SELECTED YEARS, 1969-1976

	City		County	
Fall	Total[a]	% Black	Total[a]	% Black
1969	14,000	58[b]	13,980	19[b]
1970	13,090	63	13,590	20
1971	12,160	66	14,450	19
1973	10,030	71	15,630	25
1975	9,390	76	16,240	26
1976	9,820	80	17,020	27

[a] Figures rounded to nearest 10 [b] Figures rounded to nearest %

Sources: School System Reports and Federal Court Records.

The Political Arena

Besides the black community which is discussed in more detail below, there are, or have been, two other major groups in Bradford area politics: an informally and non-publicly, but nontheless organized, group representing "traditional" white business interests; and a white liberal community consisting primarily of professionals at nearby Butler University. The political interests of these groups will be taken up in turn, beginning with the white business interests.

The Traditional White Interests

Historically, the most influential and politically powerful group in the Bradford area has been the representatives of white industry and commerce. Informally led by an economic and political "power elite," these interests have dominated local politics for many years, particularly with regard to critical positions in county government. As with many business-based political groups, this sector in Bradford has exhibited a generally conservative outlook on many local issues. However, this has not been exclusively so and the leaders of these interests have maintained flexibility in their handling of political questions; not hesitating to cooperate with black leaders, for example, if the matter is clearly beneficial to the community's economy. In general, though, this group has resisted attempts to change the traditional aligment of power and interests in the local political arena.

White Liberals and the University Community

Butler Univeristy, a predominantly white institution, was established in the 1920's and heavily endowed by local white business interests. Butler has become, over the last 50 years, an important cornerstone of Bradford's economy. At present, it is the largest single employer in the area. As such, its policies and administration have political effects on the city.

In local politics, the university as such has kept a relatively low profile. It is useful to note, though, that many of the officers and administrators of the institution are members of the traditionally well-off, upper- and upper-middle-class segment of Bradford. That is, many of these figures are from the Bradford power structure to start with, or move into these socioeconomic networks as the result of their positions at the university. Informants and secondary sources indicate a basic similarity in political viewpoint between the university directors and the business interests that have been the leaders in the community for many years. Historically, these ties go back to the founding of the school. Both of these groups desire political stability and steady economic growth. It also seems that the decision-makers for the university operations are sometimes the same individuals as those for white business groups in the town and county. As an employer of a large segment of the local wage-labor force, Butler has joined area industry in generally resisting unionization and maintaining a relatively low pay scale for its employees.

The university, on the other hand, attracts to the area and supports a great number of upper-middle-class, predominantly white, people. This university-centered population seems to constitute the bulk of Bradford's politically "liberal" group.

The political activities of the university community and other liberal groups in the Bradford area appear to have been primarily motivated by a "liberal" ideology. This orientation is in contrast with the other two major groups (blacks and traditional white business interests) in the area, both of which seem more concerned with issues as they are perceived to affect the community interests. Thus, Bradford's black community and the traditional white business concerns have not consistently adopted either a liberal or conservative line. In addition, the political activity and strength of liberal groups in city affairs have varied considerably in the past, from indifference to concentrated involvement on given issues. In general, this group's political influence in the city has declined slowly since the original "New Deal" coalition. At present, the liberal strength in Bradford appears to be at a low ebb. This status may be related to the changing population patterns in the area: more upper-middle-class families are settling in or moving to the county, and this shift began recently enough to have affected the consolidation of liberal interests. That is, the liberal community has been demographically eroding. Also, an important feature of the shift in settlement pattern is the fact that the middle- and upper-income families have correspondingly shifted their focus to the county, losing political interest in the city.

The Black Community

When compared to black groups in other cities, the minority sector in Bradford has been in a peculiar position with regard to the larger community. Black business enjoyed an unusual degree of economic viability, giving the group a certain degree of independence from the local white economy. Although leaders of both sectors have a common interest in maintaining conditions conducive to better business, basic dependencies have been limited to such areas as the need for black labor in manufacturing industries (and, conversely, a need among black workers for employment). The success of black business was also important in that it promoted the emergence of black "upper" and "middle" classes which provided a growing core of black leadership (both for Bradford and for black groups in other areas of the Southeast). After 1940, this leadership increasingly involved their community in city affairs as a political interest group. A formally organized group, the Committee for the Negro Community (CNC)[3] which later became the Committee for the Black Community (CBC), has in fact represented black business and political interests since the 1930's. This group pursued the objective of access to and influence in the formal political structure of local and state politics. Thus, blacks have consistently sought representation on the city council, and later on the county commission. They have used their control of the black vote to influence other city councilmen and to seek local and, more recently, state elective positions. Additionally, black interests have focused on the issue of education as being of prime importance. This focus has been expressed through efforts to improve black schools and, since 1954, to achieve desegregation of the local school system (both that of the city and that of the surrounding county).

The black community has made considerable progress toward the accomplishment of these goals. Regarding the objectives of desegregation of the city schools and obtaining a strong representation in the county party organization, they have recently enjoyed substantial successes. The strong position the blacks have attained was achieved, to some extent, through reliance on the power of the federal court and its decisions on desegregation as well as through a traditional alliance with the white liberals in Bradford. The joining of the liberal ideology with black community interests is somewhat of a mismatch, however. Black interests in Bradford are basically business interests and, as such, tend to generate moderate or even conservative viewpoints. Recently, there is evidence of a reduction of black dependence on this alliance, reflecting a growth in their strength which is seen in their increasing influence in local and state politics.

In so far as municipal politics are concerned, the strength of the blacks has a basis in the changing demographic situation. This is especially true concerning public school affairs. The increasing proportion of blacks in Bradford and in the city schools has resulted in a corresponding increase in their influence on city affairs. This general increase, combined with the black community's particular interests in education, led to the election of four blacks out of five school board members when the board was reorganized in 1975.

Today, the bases of the dual system remain in many respects. There is still a residence pattern that concentrates population by socioeconomic status and social race, though the lines between middle-class blacks and whites are becoming somewhat blurred in the suburban neighborhoods in the county. The political power base of the blacks lies within the city and their political voice carries more weight in that area than in the county, particularly with regard to education. In comparison, the traditionally powerful white interests, the economic "power elite," find their political support among the county voters. It is possible to see the current development in city/county demography and relations as only a shift in the relative location of the segments of the dual system. The blacks have increased their influence and population in the city, while white groups have moved themselves and their power base into suburbia and, as far as the schools are concerned, into the county district.

The Pursuit of Educational Goals by the Black Community

As the definition of their interests and community increasingly appeared to be politically distinct from those of other sectors of the city, blacks' concern for education acquired new dimensions. The desire for access to an adequate formal education grew with the middle class. The benefits of schooling seemed increasingly apparent, particularly after the 1940's. Schools, however, were at a critical articulation of the black and white systems; the blacks used and relied on the (segregated) public schools, but the school system and the allocation of public resources were controlley by the white bureaucracy. With the entry of the black community as an actor in the larger political arena, the schools became a matter for negotiation and conflict in the political process.

Even though education was a focus of black community concern, the merging of black and white schools was not initially the public political goal of the CNC. Instead, equality in educational resources was sought. As one black leader put it:

> "There was a suit in the late '40's that went into the early '50's. This was based on the theory that the schools should be separate but equal. The suit was entered to provide for the equal part. We felt, if separate but equal was the plan, then make it equal; that is, the two high schools had to be equal in facilities, in programs, in staff. There had to be a duplicity of everything in the schools, in other words. This was the plan which was pursued."

New textbooks and school equipment were sought; black facilities were demonstrated to be inadequate and inferior to white schools, and parity in this and other such areas, e.g., staff salaries, was the objective. Some progress toward these goals was pursued through expansion of general political activity after World War II. Thus, for example, as the importance of blacks in city elections increased, the city council was more receptive to recommendations from the minority leadership regarding school board members, who at that time were appointed by the council. An important move came in 1948, when the CNC sponsored a successful suit in federal court charging the Bradford school systems with discrimination on the grounds that they failed to provide blacks with schools equal to the white ones and thus did not comply with state law or the constitution. Recourse to the courts was, then, early utilized as a major strategy in the black community's pursuit of desegregation.

Soon thereafter, the goal of putting an end to segregated systems began to appear as more feasible. At the national level, the issue was becoming visibly significant, with the Supreme Court cases and decisions in the 1950's and attempts to desegregate in other cities. In Bradford during this period, the black community entered into the first of the long series of court actions that eventually led to substantial court-ordered desegregation in 1970. In this and subsequent suits, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund was a major source of support. The local black leadership, then, initiated the legal and political pursuit of their educational goals, redefining those goals as desegregation when it appeared feasible to do so.

THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS: 1950-1970

The direct path to desegregation after World War II led through the federal courts. In Bradford, legal action was continuous for much of the period from 1950 until the mid-1970's, as suits were argued in court and court orders required responses from the local schools. It was not until 1970 that a substantial breakdown of the segregated system occurred. At that time, previous legal activity culminated in the decision of the district federal court to direct the Bradford city school system to provide a pupil assignment plan to desegregate the schools. After presenting a brief outline of the steps leading to that decision, the court-ordered plan and community responses to it will be discussed in more detail.

As mentioned above, a suit was filed against the schools in the late 1940's arguing that the black educational programs and facilities were inferior to those in white schools. This condition was claimed to be illegal and discriminatory under the "separate but equal" system of education practiced in North Carolina. The case was argued by compiling a mass of data, expert witnesses, photographs, blueprints, and so on to clearly document the conditions in the black schools. The case came to trial in the early 1950's but before the Supreme Court landmark decisions. The court decided for the plaintiffs; the evidence was considered so overwhelming that the schools did not appeal. Instead, two million dollars was spent to improve the black educational system.

After the 1954 Supreme Court decisions, members of the black community in Bradford, in conjunction with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, filed several suits for the purpose of establishing a "unitary school system." These actions were brought on behalf of children in the schools and were filed against the local school system, the city and county, and the state.[4] The first major suit was brought soon after the Brown decisions. This action failed to effect significant desegregation but added to the pressures applied to the school system by the local groups (including the "white liberal" sector).

Two other major suits were filed subsequently, in the early 1960's. These actions remained in court for more than 10 years. A comparison case filed in 1963 sought integration in the county schools. These suits were later consolidated on appeal of the plaintiffs. This move was the result of a class-action argument offered by the plaintiffs, thus allowing the suit to be heard on that principle. In addition, the case was returned to court several times on motion that the schools were in non-compliance with ordered action. In the mid-1960's, the city and county units responded with "freedom-of-choice" plans which were approved by the courts. Following the Green decision by the Supreme Court in 1968, however, the case was returned on motion. The court, in Spring, 1970, ordered the preparation of a direct pupil-assignment plan to desegregate the schools for the 1970-1971 school year.

Local Political Pressure

In addition to seeking action from the courts, the black leaders pursued desegregation locally through the gradual expansion of their power as a political interest group. The activity of the CNC served to force awareness of black concerns in the Bradford area. The gain of offices and politically significant positions increased black bargaining power (not only in education but also in other civic affairs) with the other politically active interest groups, particularly in the city but also to some extent in the county power structure.

The CNC Education Committee, focused on the schools, continued its advocacy role. Thus, members attended city school board meetings, argued for school policies acceptable to the black community, and urged the school board and administration to acknowledge the difficulties facing black students and schools. The Education Committee also involved itself in individual cases where discrimination was believed to have occurred, such as where there were difficulties in black-white staff relations or instances of conflict between parents and school. To a lesser extent than in the city, the Education Committee also tried to work with the county schools. Recognizing, however, that the black power base and most of the black student population were within the city limits, the CNC concentrated its efforts on that system.

Changes in the School System

Prior to direct pupil assignments by the school board, there was little real change in the dual system. Informants report that in the 1950's and early 1960's there was no or only "token integration." Under the freedom of choice plan also (instituted in the mid-1960's), little desegregation in the schools could be found. In the high schools, an important focus of the desegregation effort, freedom of choice was generally ineffectual to promote integration. Some blacks of primarily lower-middle or low-income families did begin to attend the traditionally white high school. This small-scale desegregation was felt to be due to the geographic location of the school and its convenience to a black, working-class neighborhood in the area. No whites (or only a few individuals) attended the black high school. Both black and white informants agree that the schools retained their black and white identities. The elementary and junior high schools remained essentially the same: cross-color attendance was negligible or non-existent. Similarly, desegregation of school faculty progressed very slowly, as did the movement to place blacks in administrative positions above the principal level.

Throughout this period, the Bradford city school system adopted a strategy of resistance which might be termed "bureaucratic inertia." Although the school officials appear to have avoided direct violations of laws or confrontations with legal authorities, they seemed to have acted only when necessary or forced to by the courts and/or the political situation. In addition, some informants feel that many problems (such as inadequate minority hiring of staff) took years to resolve because the system adopted a policy of non-recognition toward them, e.g., such things as reports and applications for jobs were often "lost" at lower levels of the administration. These records would never "come to the attention" of those in positions of responsibility for the particular problem area. These stalling responses were presented by those interviewed as having been common to both administrators and school board personnel. (These practices were not restricted to Bradford -- other Southern school systems engaged in similar activities.)

A key figure in the school system's response was the superintendent. One individual held this post from the middle 1950's throughout the desegregation period (until the early 1970's). Although this man is reported to have adopted a liberal perspective in private conversation and in personal outlook, during his years in the superintendent's position the school system managed to substantially resist and delay the desegregation process in Bradford schools. He appears to have been a politically sensitive individual who was able to maneuver effectively within the legal constraints operating on the schools. Black informants describe him as a "slick operator."

It is clear that the superintendent's actions were completely compatible with the dominant white political interests in the two decades before 1970. He was selected by the city school board whose members were in turn appointed by the city council in a "very political" manner. (One black leader, in fact, suggested to us that a commitment to resist desegregation was stipulated to this individual as a condition of accepting the superintendent's position.) Thus, school officials resisted the establishment of the unitary school system, with one of their most effective strategies being, as suggested above, a sort of "bureaucratic inertia": operating to the letter of the law, proposing plans that met the minimum legal requirements, attempting to reserve areas of white schools, minimal shifting of black and white teaching staff, resistance to hiring of black personnel through a variety of tactics, including the above-mentioned loss of files, and the short term employment of persons such as spouses of graduate students in the nearby white universities.

COURT-ORDERED DESEGREGATION: POST-1970

Decisions in the consolidated cases brought against Bradford schools during the 1960's allowed the plaintiffs to petition the court for relief following the Supreme Court rejection of freedom-of-choice plans in 1968. It was apparent by this time to all parties involved that there would have to be major shifts in the school populations in order to comply with desegregation as directed by the court. The school board was directed to "abandon the freedom of choice plan of assignments and to submit a new plan for the complete desegregation of the city school system." The county schools had implemented a plan for further desegregation at the beginning of 1970. The city was allowed to prepare a plan for implementation in the 1970-71 school year.

Formation of the Plan

The board members were conscious of not only the political interests of Bradford leadership in the desegregation process but also of the tension and potential disruptiveness in the lower-level community groups. Both black and white parents in segregated neighborhoods (whose children attended essentially segregated schools) were fearful of the outcome of school desegregation, of the potential for violence, of the (felt to be) unknown consequences of "racial mixing," and of the possibly detrimental effects of desegregation on the quality of their children's education.

During this period, the school board was composed of six members. Immediately prior to the formation of the new assignment plan, three members of the board had been replaced by the city council. A politically active informant who was closely involved with school affairs at the time speculated that these members were removed because they were too "liberal-minded." After replacement, the board that was responsible for creating the desegregation plan was composed of two black members and four white.

Given a recognition of the obvious tension and the "highly emotional tone" of the community's discussion of the imminent desegregation, the school board seems to have made some formal efforts to permit community input in the formation of the plan. These were accomplished through open school board meetings and a public hearing on the proposed plan. Some of these scenes were apparently quite tumultuous. At the first school board meeting after appointment of the new members, for example, a large crowd gathered in the meeting room and in the hallway, threatening to barricade the board members in the room until some specific actions were taken. (Interestingly, at this meeting, the board elected a black member as chairman, the first time this had been done.) Similarly, the public hearing on a draft of the pupil assignment plan included several heated exchanges and protests from specific groups.

Notwithstanding the school system's formal contacts with the community on the assignment plan issue, a number of informants indicate that in general the system was resisting the input of community groups at more than a superficial level. In addition, the system does seem to have adopted a fatalistic or resigned attitude about the desegregation order. An informant who was closely involved with the schools at the time reports the following incident from a public hearing on the plan:

> "I have to say the administration didn't help very much .... [The superintendent] made a statement: he said, 'We're sorry that we're ruining your schools, but it's not our fault. The federal government and the courts are forcing us to ruin your schools.' That he could make such a statement on the eve of the desegregation plan ... is indicative of their concern to make the plan work: none. They didn't give a damn. I think they wanted to see it fail."

Perhaps reacting to such statements from the administration, many groups in Bradford feel that the school system was unresponsive to the community's interests and the needs and demands of children (and their parents) in the schools. The school system was felt to be demonstrating a lack of leadership, initiative, or innovative approaches in dealing with desegregation and the changes faced by the schools, a complaint which continues to be made by some about official responces to current problems in the schools.

Community Concern and Involvement in 1970 Desegregation

Of critical concern to Bradford citizens was the potential for violence and civil disorders seen in the desegregation process. At a basic level, parents feared for the safety of their children in the schools. Bradford's civic leaders, both black and white, were also disturbed. They perceived the possible damage to the city's image and the associated threat to local business and other interests (e.g., political) should the school changes provoke the riots and confrontations that had occurred in other southern cities. At all levels of Bradford, then, there was a desire to avoid or minimize violent confrontations, even though resistance to desegregation could be found in groups from low-income to upper-class status.

In order to achieve the goal of a peaceful transition, various steps were taken by individuals and groups at the "bottom" as well as in the "top" socioeconomic levels. Thus, some business and political leaders exercised personal influence to persuade school personnel and organizations involved with schools to adopt non-violent postures. These figures also made input into school planning. Some school officials, both black and white, apparently worked diligently with parents and public groups.

Several formally organized groups either were originated to deal with desegregation problems or became closely involved with the process. The League of Women Voters, for example, was active in the distribution of information to the community. Another women's group, the bi-racial Women in Action for the Prevention of Violences and Its Causes set up a center for the distribution of information on the school plan, acted as a clearinghouse for knowledge and complaints about desegregation, and helped organize parent-teacher meetings at newly desegregated schools. This group was composed of the towns' "leading" women: leaders in their own right, members of the town's powerful families, and/or wives of political and economic leaders in the area. This committee, therefore, was in Bradford's elite network and worked closely with the school board and administration.

Another group involved in the desegregation process was the Human Relations Commission, a city agency broadly concerned with discrimination which included on its staff several "activist" black leaders. These members, as individuals and as agency representatives, took an active role in the public meetings and other aspects of school affairs at the time. A local anti-poverty agency, which was involved in a broad range of social-welfare programs, also took an active role in the discussion of desegregation and school problems.

Parents and concerned individuals expressed their desires and attempted to affect the desegregation process through organizations. These groups primarily operated in neighborhoods or dealt with more particular concerns than did the ones described above. The local equivalent of the KKK held information-source and "training" activities, preparing for what they saw as the disastrous results that would follow desegregation. The PTA groups at the schools were badly disorganized by the new assignment plan, which paired some PTA's and changed "allegiances" of many parents.

The city-wide PTA council was more active; its position was enhanced by the fact that the black PTA system had just (the year before) joined the white national association. Several neighborhoods established community organizations (or else ones that already existed focused on the desegregation plan) in order to more visibly represent their views. There were several black organizations operating in low-income black areas, including "black power" groups. One conservative white neighborhood went so far as to hire a lawyer to argue against the pupil-assignment plan to the federal district court. Both black and white churches worked with local schools and the city in general.

One particular group, a coalition of black and white liberals, sponsered a program aimed at easing the desegregation process. The vehicle chosen for the achievement of this goal was a "community education" project called a charrette. The goals of this project were; to allow all members of the community to openly voice their concerns, fears, perceptions of problems in the desegregation process, and possible solutions to these problems. This experience would allow a release of tensions, it was hoped, but equally important, it was hoped that communication would be facilitated between the community and the school policy makers. The charrette program had been tried in other cities with some success.

The charrette was held for ten consecutive days and evenings in Summer, 1971. During the day, the format was for participants to discuss the problems they saw and complaints they had. There were large meetings in which everyone present participated. In these meetings, topics of concern were aired and noted. Everyone was encouraged to speak freely and, in fact. as openly and emotionally as they could. As a result, these meetings were sometimes the scene of heated exchanges. Although major violence was avoided, there were a few incidents of fistfights and other minor scuffles. Occasionally, groups would enter and attempt to disrupt the meetings by filibuster or threats of violence. These did not succeed, due to the determination of the majority of the participants to proceed. Officials and others in positions of responsibility were grilled on their policies and actions. After a number of problems had been identified, the large meetings were broken up into small workshops, accompanied by consultants, to draft proposals for solutions to school problems and for ways to improve the schools. These proposals were then presented to another large meeting of all participants in the evenings. Finally, all proposals and recommendations decided upon during the charrette were presented to the school board.

The ten days of sessions drew in several hundred city residents. Many of these were parents and students who took the opportunity to bring up the problems they saw in the schools and to have some input into possible solutions. Some school personnel did attend and participated actively, particularly some of the teaching and administrative staff of the schools. Although some members of the higher administrative levels and of the school board did attend some of the sessions, it appears that only a few were active participants in the workshops and "confrontations" of the larger meetings.

Several informants who were involved in the organization of the program were disappointed by what they consider to be an insufficient response from the school administration. These participants were members of community and neighborhood groups and were largely outside the actual policy-forming structure. They feel that the school board essentially tabled all the recommendations and exhibited resistance to real input into school operation from the community. A few of these respondents indicated that the city power structure in general was unwilling to listen to suggestions from the low-income and working-class neighborhoods and were, in fact, somewhat uneasy about the cooperation of the various segments at the grass-roots level.

All informants seemed to agree that if the school system acted at all in response to the charrette recommendations, it was not immediately and not directly. The school officials do appear to have been slow to act, although some programs did stem from ideas developed in the workshops. Some officials were skeptical of the value of the proposals, feeling they came from a poor source of operational directives, i.e., uninformed laymen. Some of the suggestions were considered naive or impractical. This attitude and the slowness with which the officials approached consideration of the recommendations may have seemed reasonable and expectable to experienced leaders in the community but were taken much less favorably by parents and others who participated in the intense experience of the charrette.

Many of those who participated were from low- and middle-income groups. These were people who were concerned about their neighborhood schools and school conditions in general but who, in most cases, did not have access to the decision-making network on school policy. That these participants and other members of the community were concerned is shown by such facts as participation in the event and the attendance (reportedly) of three to four hundred parents at school board meetings in which the charrette recommendations were discussed. Although no attempt was made to obtain a large sample, the fact that many of our informants perceive the school system to have ignored their input allows the speculation that the schools, and indirectly the decision makers in Bradford, have alienated a large socioeconomic sector of the community. One informant expressed this feeling:

> "... there was enormous frustration that we had put so much effort into it, had gotten all the sections of the community together and had presented these resolutions from all these sections. There were a lot of ideas, some were not so constructive, but there were many good constructive ideas also .... I really think the schools missed the boat on this opportunity by not involving the community then when that effort was shown. After that the white community just pulled out of the school affairs. And the black community became less involved in a way. It's hard to gear up that much energy on a topic .... Things like the charrette ... are like taking the horse to water .... You can present the community effort to them but if they don't want to accept it there's no way to do anything about it."

Certainly, the school system seems to have been (at least until recently) increasingly seen as unresponsive to community interests and input from parents' and similar groups.

Demographic Responses to School Change

The charrette experience contributed to the perception by Bradford parents that they had little or no effect on school problems. Many parents felt there was a general decline in the quality of education their children were receiving. The response of some white parents to the growth of problems in the local schools was to see the poor conditions as directed associated with the increased presence of black children (many from low-income families) in the classrooms.

In addition to growth of the suburban sector and the county system, which have been seen by some as the result of "white flight" from a deteriorating urban environment including the schools,[5] the past fifteen to twenty years have so far seen an increase both in the number of private schools and in private school enrollment (see Table 3.3). The development of private schools for the purpose of maintaining parent-controlled and/or segregated educational facilities has occurred simultaneously with the desegregation process in the South in general (see, for example, Brown and Provizer 1972). In Bradford, informants reported that the majority of the present private and parochial institutions were established in direct response to efforts to form a unitary school system. For example, one parent stated that when the 1970 plan was prepared and the figures released indicated that there would be a large influx of blacks into the school her children were attending, she received a telephone call the same day advising her that a new private school would be established for her and other parents' children. (The school was in fact formed.)

TABLE 3.3: PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FOR CITY AND COUNTY STUDENTS, 1971-76

	City	County
1971-72	485	1,114
1972-73	552	1,189
1973-74	559	1,240
1974-75	757	1,314
1975-76	690	1,286

Final Court-Ordered Changes

In the spring of 1975, the federal court required a further step in the desegregation process. The school system was directed to prepare a plan that would achieve racial balance of students and faculty in each school that reflected the black-white ratios of the system as a whole. Apparently, at about this time, the city council also began to move to have the school board elected rather than appointed as it had been previously. This was ostensibly to make the selection process less sensitive to political pressure, much of which at this time was coming from the Committee for the Black Community. The city petitioned the state legislature and the procedure for board selection was changed in June of that year. Subsequently in the summer, the existing board decided to close four schools, giving economy as the reasons. This decision, then, was pronounced after it was known that a new school board would be elected by the public.

Establishment of the board as an elected body essentially removed the city government from school affairs. School policy was now, at least nominally, directly in the hands of the community. In addition, school officials would henceforth be concerned only with the county government system. (Previously, the county commissioners had been the primary figures in school-government relations because of their control of the budget. However, the influence of the city council on school policies was important and exercised through the board selection process.) Although the stated reason for the move to an elected board was to reduce the "politics" involved, it is clear that the new procedure removed the city from formal responsibility in the troublesome problems of Bradford education. This action is consistent with the pattern of withdrawal from the internal affairs of the city schools by the white political interests after desegregation.

If the move to an elected board helped to distance some white groups from the politics of the city schools, it served the opposite function for black involvement, although black leaders initially opposed the change. The political organization of blacks in the city, their increased power in school and city government in the 1970's, and the fact that the proportion of black children in the school was increasing, contributed to the gain in influence black leadership exerted on the school system. Not surprisingly, the results of the school board election in the fall of 1975 placed four black members and only one white on the board. Only one of the elected members, however, was new to the position; all the others were either incumbents or had served on the board previously. The newly elected man was an active figure in black political leadership. Some informants feel that the control established on the school board by the blacks in this election was due to the non-participation of white middle-class voters.

The new school board inherited the administrative decision to close the selected schools along with the assigned plan to achieve racial balance. The Bradford community expressed resentment and feelings of lack of control about the new plan. The continuing intrusion of the federal government (courts) into local school affairs was seen by some whites as a major contributing factor to what was perceived as the declining quality of the schools. In addition, the schools that had been closed were felt to have been "black" schools, and the reasons given for the closings were seen by residents of the neighborhoods as vague and unsatisfactory. Some informants believe that the action was the result of a "deal," although they are unsure of just what deal was made. One possibility presented was that the black leaders had agreed to the closing of three of the schools in order to see the fourth closed. This fourth school was attended by many children of the Butler university community and was in fact receiving financial assistance from the university for special programs. These and similar speculations were voiced, but none of the "conspiracies" have been clearly demonstrated. The protests about the closed schools did stimulate the formation of several parents groups and the controversy certainly did not help the new school board get off to a good start. Although there were some initially high expectations that the board would provide strong leadership in and innovation approaches to school problems, most informants now express disappointment either over that body's failure to act decisively or about the slow pace of action taken. Several informants actively involved in school affairs point out that the board had been expectably conservative, given the fact that almost all the members had held their positions before.

LEVELS OF INTEREST IN SCHOOLS AND DESEGREGATION

It is useful to distinguish two levels of interest and concerns in school affairs. Parties with interests at a more abstract or higher level focus upon education as an issue, upon the symbolic importance of school affairs, and upon educational policies or district operations. Goals at this level are usually of broad scope, show an emphasis on the political implications of school matters, and often deal with symbolic or ideological dimensions. Examples of goals at this level are desegregation through the formation of unitary school systems or attempts to maintain a "traditional" educational structure by re-creation of a dual situation. Thus, education at this higher level is one aspect of ideological and community-interest concerns. At the level of the individual school, or a particular neighborhood, however, concerns are usually much more specific. Thus, parents are concerned about such things as their child's progress in a given class, whether their child will receive training in a particular skill that is needed for a job or higher education, or with problems in the way a teacher behaves toward the students. In Bradford, these different foci and goals may be seen as pursued by two levels of organizations and concerned parties that in turn exhibit different characteristics and effectiveness. An examination of the issues and the groups involved in their discussion serves to illustrate the two levels of action as well as the attempts made to bridge them for more effective and responsive actions at both levels.

Groups and Their Interests

The principal actors at the higher or more abstract level are the major political groups identified earlier. As has been discussed, the black community in particular has focused on the schools as an area of symbolic and practical importance to their interests. In addition, although the traditional, conservative white interests have turned their attention to the county and its schools, they still have the potential for politically significant action or influence on the city system through their position in the structure of formal authority.

Higher-level interest in Bradford's schools is also expressed by the involvement of organizations in school issues. These include such groups as church organizations and civic groups (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce). Bradford's liberal citizens appear to be primarily involved in educational affairs through such groups. Many of these groups are in a sense also an avenue of expression of the concerns of the local community leadership, for their membership is drawn from the town's leading citizens. Although their concerns are with overall school policies, the goal of quality education and its effects on the city's image, and other similar matters, in the past some of these groups may have become involved in problems or conditions within a particular school.

School administrators and board members themselves have a higher-level interest in the schools because of the overlapping membership with and pressure from the black and white leadership structure. Of course, some individuals may have been drawn to this higher level of participation by their lower-level personal situations, such as having children in the public schools who are encountering some problems perceived by the parents as requiring action or involvement. There are a number of such individuals who have moved from specific concern with a particular school to a continuing involvement in school issues at the level of ideological and/or community-relations interests and goals.

With a few exceptions which will be discussed, lower-level complaints and goals are more restricted in scope and action or more personal in focus than the higher-level issues described above. That is, in many cases, parents appear to remain loosely organized and involved with a single school in the pursuit of their interests. It may be that the kind of concerns held by the majority of parents are those most amenable to solution or treatment within the school. There are also indications that parental involvement in a school may be guided to some extent by the principal or some other staff member. Finally, some informants suggest that many parents or concerned individuals do not seem to see the need for organization or collective action.

This is not to say that parents concerned about their children's school situation never organize or cooperate. (Discussed below are some efforts to deal at the system level with problems encountered at the school and classroom levels.) Parents to some extent express their views and desires through the PTA (also see below) and through direct communications with school personnel. It should also be noted that school personnel seem to voice their concerns to parents, other staff members, and higher figures both within and outside the administrative system. It appears that at this level the expression of interest and resulting strategies for action are personal (with a few exceptions), with the effectiveness of a given communication or action being most visibly related to the dynamic qualities of the interacting individuals.

At the higher level of interest, discussion of and action on an issue is seemingly more organized and directed, while the issues at the neighborhood level are more dispersed and may be seen only as personal problems to be settled between the individual and the school personnel. The distinction between higher and lower levels also may be seen in the goals sought by the interested parties. At the higher level, as discussed, the schools are usually taken as a whole and viewed as an area in which aspects of community relations may be defined and negotiated. At the lower level, problems seen in a school are confronted and immediate solutions sought. To the extent, however, that the solution is felt to be a system-wide matter, the problem may be seen as a situation involving decisions on principle. Thus, for example, social promotion may be condemned as inherently bad or emphasis in the schools on reading may be supported as a basic principle of quality education. On such bases, however, the issue seems to lack the political quality characteristic of the higher level treatment, i.e., the identitification of the issue with a particular political community or defined actor in the political arena.[6]

The Expression of Levels of Interest in School Issues

A discussion of several school issues, the groups involved with them, and their positions on the issue will illustrate the different levels of goals and operations in Bradford. The question of construction of new high school facilities is an example of the way in which school affairs are an arena in which more general community relations are negotiated. Examples important at the lower level, such as the extent of ability grouping to be allowed in the schools, indicate the different perspectives on important issues held by the higher- and lower-level interests.

The New high school. A current issue is the question of providing adequate and modern facilities for the high school grades. There are at present two high schools in the city, both of which are old and have deficiencies. The oldest, which was traditionally the black school, will be closed in the near future because of its poor condition. Black leaders have suggested the possibility of constructing a new school which would be in compliance with state recommendations for suitable acreage. As envisioned, this school would be a very modern, "showpiece" facility. However, white (and some black) middle-class parents and some school personnel feel that such a project is overly ambitious and another example of an unrealistic attitude on the part of the school board. They point out the lack of suitable land in the city and the problems in financing the venture, indicating the improbability of the county commissioners' approved of the scheme. Given the projections that by 1980 or so only one high school will be needed to accommodate all the students in Bradford, several opponents of the new school ideal propose that the other high school, the traditionally white high school, be renovated and upgraded. This is feasible, it is suggested, because some of the facilities at the school are fairly new. The school is located, however, on a major thoroughfare near the center of the city, adjacent to a factory, and on a lot that is almost filled with the school buildings. Use of the facility as the single high school is objected to on these and other grounds.

Although the pragmatic features of the new high school issue are important, they are not the only significant dimension of the question. The symbolic importance of a new school built to replace the aging black institution and becoming the single high school is not lost on either the black or the white communities. A new school may, for example, be part of a "new beginning" for the city schools, a fresh direction guided by the black school leadership that has recently gained the major voice in school affairs. One black leader spoke of a new high school as a "matter of community pride" and justified its support as a visible expression of the confidence and optimism held by the community for their city schools. Many blacks have strong feelings about their traditional high school, recalling the neighborhood and personal efforts expended on its behalf during the long period in which the dual system operated. Consequently, some individuals seem to have taken the stand that amalgamation of the black students into one school that was for so long a stronghold of segregation is unacceptable. Thus, for the sake of community sensibilities if nothing else, a new school and a fresh start appear advisable to them.

It is clear that the issue of the new school is serving as another area for the definition of the black community's interest. The county commissioners and other key leaders of the traditional, "conservative," white interests have not yet adopted a public position on the matter. There seems to be at least a "passive resistance" to the idea, perhaps a "wait and see" attitude. Their assessment of the effects of the new school project on the political balance of the area certainly will be (or is being) made. The issue is still developing and the lines of action are as yet unclear.

Ability Grouping. For the black community, certain conditions in the schools are also symbolically and politically significant. For example, the policy of grouping students according to ability is a sensitive topic; the practice is seen as having reflected discrimination in the past, and as potentially discriminatory in the attentuated forms it takes today. Black leadership is extremely concerned, therefore, about any situation that threatens reinstitution of a grouping policy. For example, the recent establishment of a statewide educational testing program seems to be a matter of much concern and doubt on the part of black leaders.[7] Although ability grouping is unacceptable at the higher level of black leadership, many black and white parents are concerned that their children receive programs that are suitable to their interests and capabilities. Some hold that grouping is necessary for effective public education and argue for it on the general principle. Ability grouping to many parents seems to be positively associated with quality education. The primary concerns, though, seem to be ones such as insuring that particular students receive instruction at their level (e.g., in reading) or that appropriate resources (teachers, materials, and programs) are available in the school.

The grouping issue illustrates another basic feature of the two levels of school concerns. Although the black leadership wishes to insure that discriminatory tracking or similar arrangements are not occurring, higher-level figures seem to have difficulty in determining just what is happening in the classrooms, much less being able to do anything about it. For example, one politically-active informant indicated that he "had been told" there was informal but systematic grouping occurring in elementary school classrooms. The classes were reported to have been divided into advanced and less advanced students; teacher aides were said to work with the less advanced in order to enable the teachers to focus on the needs of the others. This individual pointed out, however, that such claims were difficult to prove and that he was in fact unsure whether such a pattern existed. Parents who are active at a lower level and are concerned with the attention (or lack of it) their child is receiving in class, and the suitability of the program for his/her individual needs, may be able to affect the situation through discussion with the teacher or principal. However, when these same parents attempt to affect systemwide policy in order to achieve some acceptable form of grouping, they find they have much less influence. The two levels have their own networks of action and decision; movement between them is often difficult.

In a sense, the city school administration's handling of the ability grouping issue exemplified the distance between the higher and lower levels of interest and action. System policy avoids the use of ability grouping or tracking on the grounds that such practices are discriminatory. However, school officials interpret federal regulations and other formal restrictions as allowing some degree of grouping if it does not exceed twenty-five per cent of the pupil's time in the school. The administration policy is that allowable grouping admissible by the guidelines is primarily the concern of the school principals. In other words, the individual school is given a high degree of autonomy in deciding the extent and form of pupil grouping. Thus, the school system attempts to conform to the desires of higher-level black interests. in the ability grouping issue yet maintains lower-level flexibility and the possibility of some student clustering procedures.

Action Across Levels

The factors contributing to problems in the transfer of interest or effect from one level to another are several. At a particular school, personnel have a fair degree of autonomy and self control. This feature not only serves to focus the concern of parents dealing with specific complaints or items on the school, but also insulates the school to some extent from directives arriving from higher in the administration. In addition, concerned individuals can effectively deal with key personnel in a personal, informal manner. The school board and administration, however, are directly and strongly influenced by the political interests in the area; they are more effectively approached politically, that is, by interest groups or an organized body representing some block. Their (sometimes competing) directives, though, may become attentuated while moving through the system to the local schools. The result of this situation is that effective input into one level from another or from an outside source is obscured. Parents and concerned parties in the community have difficulty finding a route of access into the decision-making process of district policy formation. This is often interpreted as resistance to change on the part of the school system or as resistance to lower-level participation.

Intermediate Groups

There are indications that lower-level organizations operating as interest groups for particular objectives can have potentially great impact on schools throughout the city. The PTA is one potential channel for expression of local interests at the system level. In the past, though, the PTA appears to have avoided a strong advocacy role. Another group, however, appears to have been successful.

A few years ago a number of parents who were concerned about the availability of resources for academically-gifted children became alarmed when they learned of plans to eliminate the self-contained Exceptionally Talented classes in the schools. An informally organized group approached the school superintendent and did succeed in obtaining assurances that the programs would be continued for the rest of that school year, although the classes would be abolished the following year. These parents were concerned that their "gifted and talented" children not be denied suitable training for or adequate attention to their needs on the one hand, while special resources were being provided for those who exhibited learning problems on the other.

At the suggestion of a teacher who was also actively seeking continuation of the ET program and other resources for talented students, several of these parents formally organized in order to pursue their goals. Representatives from this group then attended school board meetings to present their views. In addition, they began an agenda of contact with all city schools in order to assess the condition of "gifted education" and the needs for programmatic action in each situation. This organization remained active for a year, then entered a period of internal reorganization and relative dormancy. At present, its members are attempting to work from the structure they have established and to resume their more public and substantive activities. From the start, the group has sought membership of parents from different neighborhoods and from both black and white middle-class communities.

Informants in the group feel that, at least initially, the organization was effective, particularly in increasing awareness of the needs of children at the opposite end of the pole from "disadvantaged" students. This assessment is supported by the comments of school personnel and parents in various neighborhoods. The group and its concerns are very visible; a good deal of their impact seems to stem from the group's investigation and discussion with local personnel of conditions at the individual school level.. This influence and presence is still felt in spite of their relatively inactive status during the past months. The opinion of the organization seems to remain a matter of concern to local administrators and teachers.

In a sense, this group fills a gap between the levels of interest in the schools. It seems to be the only "grass-roots," parent-coordinated organization that acts as a specific educational interest group, focusing on more than the immediate neighborhood unit. (Advisory committees, recently formed by the school board, are another case of a group which fills the gap between levels. As an example of a higher-level, rather than lower level attempt to bridge this gap, the establishment of advisory committees will be discussed below.) Although the overall impact of this group on system-wide policy is unclear, its directives to the aggregate of individual schools appear to be influential, at least to the extent that school personnel are publicly concerned about the issue and the input of the group. The group represents a systematic effort to carry the specific and personal interests of parents into the broader arena. Thus, it is intermediate between the higher and lower levels, but has developed from the bottom rather than being constructed at the top by the formal school system. The response of school staff suggests that local receptivity to directives might be enhanced if local personnel see the basis of the policy or action as an outgrowth of parent and lower-level concerns.

The school board also seems to be trying to find ways to more effectively bridge the gap between the board and the community through attempts to increase the involvement of lower-level interests in policy formation. One arrangement is in the process of development. The board has established advisory committees at each school to discuss and identify the problems and concerns of that particular area. Representatives of these committees then meet in a city-wide group to develop and deliver recommendations to the school board. This is seen as a systematic way to insure that lower-level interests are represented at the higher level of school policy. Although the program has been slow in starting, there are high expectations for the success of these committees. Members of the city-wide group point out, for example, that the committees were set up to have some influence on the preparation of the school budget. This is felt to be a critical step in policy formation. It may be noted that a number of individuals who have been active in the past in various levels of school affairs are members of these committees.

The committees established in each school appear to have some potential for successfully opening up access to the neighborhoods. As with the parents' group pursuing "gifted education," these committees occupy a position intermediate between higher and lower levels of interest. This position, it is hoped, will contribute to their effectiveness. Optimism is guarded, however: informants point out that advisory councils have been established before with little effect on the operations of the school system.

The ineffectiveness of such efforts in the past is considered to be a factor contributing to the poor image of schools in Bradford. In this regard, Bradford school leaders are in a difficult position. Some of the features that constrain the school board's actions have been discussed, such as the sometimes conflicting pressures from different levels of school interests and the problems in acting between levels or affecting lower-level school operations through higher-level policy formation. In addition, the present school board has inherited the administrative bureaucracy, including personnel some of whom are representatives of previously powerful groups in school affairs. Similarly, the political structure constrains city school operations, both formally and informally. While some of these higher-level constraints continue to be dealt with politically, the problems inherent in the dichotomy of levels in the school system structure must also be overcome. Thus, the school leadership has an important stake in pursuing more effective means of communication between levels by utilizing both structural changes or channels (e.g., some of the intermediate groups) and symbolic means (e.g., improving the image of the schools, establishing specific goals common to both higher and lower levels, promoting a feeling of involvement in the community, or promoting the perception that effective input is possible). Given the situation in Bradford, these tasks are formidable. It remains to be seen whether the school system will meet the various demands of the different groups in the community.

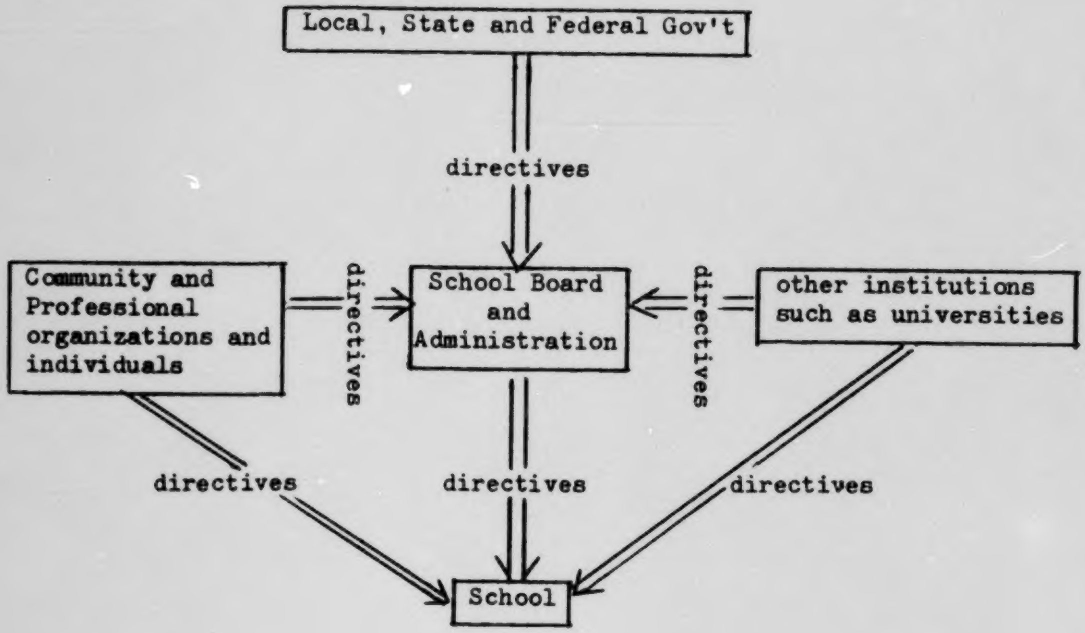
CHAPTER 4: THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL TO THE DISTRICT AND THE COMMUNITY

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the social, political, and economic characteristics of Bradford form the context in which the schools operate; the nature of the student population derives from the city's residential pattern and demographic features, and Bradford's economic and political situation establishes the arena for school system operations. Political interest groups, school board members, school administrators, community leaders, and parents have all, in various ways, been involved in fashioning the course of school desegregation in Bradford.

In their attempts to implement desegregation, as well as other social and educational changes, the groups and their members place numerous demands or directives on individual schools. Often these directives are conflictory. Individual schools, such as Grandin where the present research took place, are, in fact, at the receiving end of a hierarchically-structured system, making them, in many cases responsible for somehow accommodating the myriad directives which come their way. (Figure 4.1 illustrates this hierarchical system.) This chapter is concerned with these directives, including those which brought about desegregation, as they impinge upon the school.

The concept of directive as used here is broad. It encompasses information, insturctions, and ideas originating outside a particular school about what should be done in the school. Most often directives are aimed at making a school conform to certain expectations held by the wider system. Through directives the wider system attempts to control what goes on in individual schools.

FIGURE 4.1: THE SCHOOL SYSTEM: THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL TO THE COMMUNITY AND THE DISTRICT


Local, State and Federal Gov't
directives
Community and Professional organizations and individuals
directives
School Board and Administration
directives
other institutions such as universities
directives
directives
directives
School

SOURCES OF OPERATIONAL DIRECTIVES

One source of external directives to which the school must be responsive is the school board and school administration[1] or "central office." Directives from the central office most often come in the form of descriptions of programs to be implemented, information to be acquired, or rules to be followed. Directives which have these matters as content we have called "operational" directives. The following excerpt from the field notes provides an example of an operational directive.

> Today at the teachers' meeting, Mr. Phillips explained to the teachers the instructions given to him and the other 18 principals for the "read-in." At the meeting, also attended by the superintendent, the principals were asked to see that a "read-in" is held every day in their schools at a set period. The "read-in" activity, which is to last twenty minutes, is to give children the opportunity to learn to enjoy reading. The activity is to be uninterrupted by other activities; the children are to have freedom to choose the books they wish to read; they are not to be coerced into reading, and they are to have role models in the form of the teachers and the principal in that everyone is to be engaged in reading during this period.

The "read-in" was difficult to implement because the scheduling of activities at Grandin is quite complicated. Children are "resourced" from their regular classrooms to special ET, EMR, reading, and math classes for 45 minutes at a time. In addition, the full class goes to music twice a week, library twice a week, and PE five times a week. Teachers also wondered how possible it would be to maintain an atmosphere of relaxed reading in classes in which some of the students cannot read. The scheduling decision was a compromise. It was decided that the read-in would occur at a set time on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays when the music teacher goes to another school. On Mondays and Wednesdays, the period would be scheduled at the discretion of the teacher. The teachers were then responsible for setting up systems in their own classrooms to bring about an activity which would conform to the directive.

In many different ways, of which the read-in is only one small example, the central office influences the individual school. Decisions about textbooks to use, curricula to follow, supplies and equipment to have available, food to eat, types of grades to give, how often to give grades, what kinds of records to keep, and many more are made by the central office. It also offers advice and rules about what to do if students are absent, sick, failing, or behaving poorly. It requires teachers and the principal to attend workshops, go to meetings, and join committees. Still other regulations which have originated from the school board and the administration include directives to do away with self-contained, ability-grouped classes and, of course, the many directives aimed at satisfying the courts over desegregation.

These operational directives in some cases come from sources other than the central office. Parents, for example, have the right to refuse that their child be submitted to psychological testing for placement in resource classes. The school must send home letters to the parent to gain the parent's or adult caretaker's directive about testing. Parents may also direct the school in other ways.

> Mrs. Parks has asked the class to stand for recitation of the pledge of allegiance to the flag and the Lord's Prayer. Cory remains seated. Mrs. Parks goes over to Cory and asks him why he is not standing. She asks him if his parents have told him not to participate. He says yes. Mrs. Parks

> allows him to remain seated. Mrs. Parks also received a note from the parents of one of the other children indicating that their daughter was not to take part in the pledge and prayer. Mrs. Parks handled this directive by holding the pledge and prayer before the girl got to the classroom in the morning. In at least one instance, Mrs. Parks held the classroom door closed during the ritual against the student's entry.

Operational directives from Grandin parents come mostly from individual parents, rather than from an organization of parents or even from a loose network of parents. The Parent Teacher Association supports school activities and programs but does not involve itself directly in efforts to implement changes in the school.

As the examples have suggested, there are ways by which school participants can modify and in some cases resist the onslaught of these external operational directives. Since administrators and parents so infrequently visit the school, a certain amount of leeway in carrying out these directives is permitted. Teachers may simply decide not to have read-in one day. They can bring materials from home for students to use and they may devise their own set of informal guidelines by which they group students and otherwise handle them.

However, the vulnerability of the school to operational directives is clearly evident in the case of school desegregation. Grandin's principal, teachers, students, and parents did not welcome desegregation; but in the end, they had little power to affect it or the changes it brought to the school.

The Desegregation of Grandin

The first desegregation directive to affect Grandin came in 1970 when the school was paired with a black elementary school located about three miles away. This arrangement called for the combined school populations to attend kindergarten at their "neighborhood" school, grades 1-3 at Maryvale, the previously black school, and then go to Grandin for grades 4-6. Thus, though originally built to house grades k-6, the school had only kindergarten, fourth, fifth and sixth graders at the time of our study. When this pairing occurred, children of somewhat dissimilar backgrounds were brought together in school. According to information obtained from the 1970 Census, the community originally served by Grandin is less than 25% black and the median family income for families living in the area is between $6,000 and $12,000. Most adults are employed as industrial (skilled) workers. A few are professionals and businessmen. Less than a quarter of the households are run by females. No substandard houses or housing projects were identified in the community.

From the time it opened until the 1970-71 school year, Grandin served the surrounding white community exclusively. All the teachers and students were white and many lived within walking distance of the school. During that period, especially prior to the middle 1960's, the school had a good reputation among the city's white population. White teachers who had been in the school or the school system during the 1960's report that at that time students' standardized test scores were above the national average, no one received a free lunch or breakfast, and there were many "enrichment" activities, such as field trips and after-school activities.

In contrast, the community originally served by Maryvale is predominantly black. The median family income which is less than $5,999, is lower than in the Grandin area. While industrial workers comprise a substantial share of the work force in the Grandin area, unskilled laborers and unemployed workers are more common in the Maryvale neighborhood. About 50% of Maryvale residents live in female-headed households. Fifty percent of the housing units have been identified as substandard and several public housing projects are located in the area.

In 1975, when the most recent desegregation plan went into effect, Grandin received students from still a third community where the neighborhood school had been closed as part of the new plan. The population in this community, called Hartwell, is more evenly balanced in terms of social-race composition with blacks and whites both comprising about 50%. In terms of economic characteristics, the Hartwell area resembles the Grandin community. The median family income range and the occupational profile are the same for the two areas. At the time that Hartwell students started attending Grandin, however, the public school population from the area consisted primarily of black students from low-income families whose backgrounds were similar to those of Maryvale students.

During the 1970-71 school year, 44% of the students enrolled at Grandin were black. The percentage of blacks at Maryvale was higher -- 59%. The percentage of blacks at each school grew steadily over the years. By 1973, 58% of Grandin's students and 63% of Maryvale's were black. In the fall of

1975, when a new desegregation plan went into effect which required that the proportion of blacks to whites at each school reflect the overall black-white ratio in the school district, Grandin's black population increased to 65%, Maryvale's to almost 80%. This increase was partially the result of the addition of a number of black students from the Hartwell school closed under the new desegregation plan. In spite of the desegregation plan, which specified a maximum of 33% white students, the percentage of whites at Grandin was 34.8. (Table 4.1 shows the social-race characteristics of fifth and sixth graders at the time of the study.)

At the same time that the student bodies were desegregated, some faculty desegregation was also occurring. Several black teachers came to Grandin in 1970. The other teachers and the principal were white. As shown in Table 4.2 there are still more white faculty members than black, although the number of blacks has increased.

EXPECTATIONAL DIRECTIVES AND DESEGREGATION

Schools are also vulnerable to other types of directives. One of these, the "expectational" directive for want of a better name, is more nebulous, having to do with what is believed or felt about the school or the district. Expectational directives have more diffuse effects than operational directives. The flow of beliefs which affects the individual school is much more difficult to trace and its impact more difficult to assess than the directives arriving in the form of written guidelines or oral instructions. One difficulty, of course, is that processes by which beliefs become pervasive are

TABLE 4.1: SOCIAL RACE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF GRANDIN FIFTH GRADERS (1975-76) AND SIXTH GRADERS (1976-77)

	Blacks		Whites		
	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Fifth Grade	48 (35.0)	41 (30.0)	21 (15.3)	27 (19.7)	
Totals	89 (65.0)		48 (35.0)		137 (100.0)
Sixth Grade	44 (39.0)	33 (29.2)	14 (12.4)	22 (19.5)	
Totals	77 (68.2)		36 (31.9)		113 (100.1)

TABLE 4.2: SOCIAL RACE COMPOSITION AND POSITION OF ADULTS PRESENT AT GRANDIN ELEMENTARY ON A DAILY BASIS*

Position**	No. Black		No. White	
	1975-76	1976-77	1975-76	1976-77
4th grade teachers	1	1	2	2
4th-5th combination teacher	1			
5th grade teachers	2	2	1	1
5th-6th combination teacher		1	1	
6th grade teachers	3	3	1	1
Librarian			1	1
Physical Education teacher		1		
Remedial reading teacher			1	1
Remedial reading aide			1	1
Remedial math teacher	1	1		
Remedial math aide			1	1
Kindergarten teacher			1	1
Kindergarten aide	1	1		
Trainable teacher	1			1
Trainable aide			1	1
Educably mentally retarded teacher		1	1	
Exceptionally talented teacher			1	1
Principal			1	1
Secretary			1	1
Cafeteria workers***	2	2	2	2
Cashier			1	1
Custodians	2	2		
	14	15	18	17

*The music teacher who is white and the speech teacher who is black work at Grandin on a weekly but not daily basis.

**With the exception of the principal, two sixth grade teachers, the remedial math teacher, and one of the custodians, all Grandin adults are females.

***Only full-time cafeteria workers are included; several other persons, both black and white, worked part-time in the cafeteria.

less easy to discern. With some issues, for example, expectations may diffuse to everyone in a district or in a school whereas other types of expectations may diffuse to only a restricted segment. The operational changes brought about by school desegregation were also accompanied by changes in expectations which seem to have diffused differentially.

At Grandin there is clearly a feeling that more than just the social-race composition of the school has changed since desegregation. Standardized test scores are now below the national average, many students require remedial help in reading and math, and it becomes harder and harder to find students who qualify for the ET class under the old standard (120 IQ). The majority of students (80%) now receive free lunches and at least one teacher keeps a used clothes box for children who need extra clothing in the winter. In conjunction with these changes, some teachers no longer feel that special activities such as field trips, plays, and student projects like the construction of a piecework tapestry which now hangs on the wall in the main entrance of the school are feasible because many students lack the resources to participate in these activities and because working parents are generally not available to help with special projects. An important goal spelled out by Grandin teachers in a recent self-study report on their school was "to enable the child to rise above the handicaps which surround him."

While some teachers seem to have made the adjustment to the new student body successfully, some older teachers have not. Opposite the tapestry in the entrance hall at Grandin hangs the portrait of the former principal, who encountered considerable difficulty in attempting to deal with the new situation and maintain the school's reputation. While there is some indication that the reputation of the school began to fall prior to desegregation, a feeling that the school has declined, primarily as a result of desegregation, to the point that it no longer stands out among Bradford's elementary schools seems to be shared and regretted by most teachers who were at the school prior to desegregation.

White parents who had students at Grandin prior to desegregation and who are still sending their children to the school express regrets similar to those of the older teachers. Like those teachers, these parents are quite pessimistic about the future of what they call "quality education" at Grandin. Joining with other white parents in the district, some express concern for the fate of good students in the school when so much of what is going on is for the benefit of the average or remedial student. Taking their children out of the system's schools is thus a frequent topic of conversation.

For black teachers at Grandin who have been teaching in Bradford for many years and for longtime black residents of the city whose children now go to Grandin, memories of the past may have led, especially at first, to a feeling that they are not really welcome at the school. There have been many attempts to discourage this attitude, however. The PTA has attempted to overcome reservations of black parents and to encourage black participation by, for example, sponsoring a tea just prior to the opening of school in 1975 to provide new black parents the opportunity to meet the school staff and other parents. Some black parents are quite actively involved in the Grandin PTA, although for the most part black participation is low. This low participation is in part attributed to transportation and child care problems. One black teacher recently expressed the feeling that the programs offered by the PTA were not of interest to many black parents. The teacher, however, did not think anything could be done to change the situation.

Such perspectives, held by those familiar with the history of Grandin and desegregation in Bradford, can be contrasted to those held by people who are presently associated with the school but who lack this specific historical information. For most of the newer teachers, the future is perceived more optimistically than by some of the older ones. Especially among the black teachers, there is a feeling that within the school the achievement and elaboration of some of the goals of the civil rights movement can be attained. They seem to view more favorably the business of teaching the children they have. Newer white teachers also seem to hold a more optimistic view of the school and its current students. For the most part, they have chosen to come to a school like the present-day Grandin and may even find it more rewarding than they had expected.

In interviews conducted with a number of parents whose students were at Grandin during the course of our study, both blacks and whites expressed general agreement that Grandin offers a good academic program. They view favorably the orientation toward the traditional classroom style of learning and discipline practiced at Grandin. Most parents feel that this style is at least as good, if not more appropriate, for the student body as what is offered at more progressive schools in the surrounding area. One white parent said she thought Grandin was still the best school in Bradford because the teachers and the principal knew how to make children behave so they could learn.

During the course of the interviews, many black and white parents recounted their initial fears for the safety of their children at the newly desegregated school. They were pleased that no violence had occurred and fears about safety seemed, for the most part, to have dissipated by the time of the study.

In comparing Grandin to other schools, white parents seem most concerned about the social effects of sending their children to a school with only a handful of other students perceived to have similar interests, experiences, and abilities. Dissatisfaction with this situation is often cited as the primary reason why white parents move to the county or put their children in private schools. The same white parent who called Grandin the "best school in [Bradford]" also stated that if contact with blacks should result in her daughter marrying a black "[her daughter] might as well be dead."

Black parents express concern about the possibility of black-white tensions in the school and worry that their children may be discriminated against in favor of whites; however, most, in talking specifically about Grandin, state that they feel these problems are no more of an issue at Grandin than at other city schools, and less of an issue than at county schools. They noted that they and their children had been afraid of what would happen to them at Grandin after it was first desegregated but said things were much better now that there were more blacks there.

The climate of expectation about the schools in the Bradford district in general is considered by some to be negatively affected by newspaper accounts which they feel focus on the weaknesses rather than the strengths of the system. It is also true that residents of other nearby areas sometimes refer to the negative reputation. Grandin was included in such a reference by some who are affiliated with two nearby, predominantly white, universities and who become involved with Grandin directly by sending student teachers there to train, and indirectly by advising the school district as a whole on curriculum and policy. These people, some of whom have contact with only a few schools in the Bradford system, tended to unfavorably compare the school to several private schools and to public schools in progressive nearby school systems.

A final point which might be made about expectational directives concerns the increase of black educators and personnel among the administrators and policy makers of the district. Because of the history of black-white relations in the South and in the United States in general, and for other reasons, whites are more vulnerable to having their acts interpreted as discriminatory against blacks than the reverse. The increasing visibility of black students, educators, and decision makers, and the recognition that whites are coming to constitute a minority, seems to be associated with a heightened sensitivity among whites to the possibility of and desire to avoid having their actions interpreted as motivated by social race.

RECIPROCAL DIRECTIVES

The final way that schools can be affected by external pressures is in the form of a "reciprocal" directive. Reciprocal directives come from organizations, or from individuals representing an organization, which have no official authority to direct the school. Under this rubric would be included the Department of Education at a nearby university from which the school has accepted student teachers and third-year education majors. Another less important example would be the Bowling Association of Bradford which, according to Mr. Phillips, the principal, sponsors a show by Chief White Cloud. These organiztions offer certain resources to the school which, if they are to be utilized, often necessitate at least logistical maneuvering in the school and in some cases open the school to potential sources of change. To receive the resources, the school must accept as directives the guidelines or agenda of the program. In the case of a student teacher supervisor, an attempted intervention by the supervisor can be interpreted as a strategy to encourage the reciprocation that she expects from the classroom teachers. The regular teachers at Grandin speak openly about how much easier it is to teach when the student teachers are there. During these periods, classes can be divided into smaller groups, making instruction and control easier. In return for this resource, the supervisor hoped that the regular teachers would be receptive to innovations and suggestions which the Department of Education at her university advocates. During an informal interview it was learned that the supervisor felt thwarted in her attempts to get the teachers to reciprocate.

These reciprocal directives are easier to resist than either operational or the expectational directives. Since the organizations which offer them have no direct control over the school, school participants are freer to accept or reject them as they see fit.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to locate Grandin within the community and the district context in which it operates. It has been shown that the school is, to a very great extent, limited in its ability to control the demands placed upon it. These demands come from many sources and can encompass much of what is involved in conducting school. In recent years, the school's position as recipient of externally instituted changes has been underscored by the desegregation process. Since 1970, the school's clientele has been significantly altered twice and its staff once. Types of programs and procedures for selecting students for these programs have also changed markedly. Although the school is able to resist certain types of directives and modifies others to fit its structure, it is clear that Grandin's autonomy is limited. It is very much a subordinate part of a larger system. For this reason, Grandin participants cannot take full responsibility for the social and cultural systems operant in the school, a subject to which we now turn.

PART III: SCHOOL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL RACE

This section describes the conceptual framework utilized in the study of the school. The first chapter in the section, Chapter 5, discusses the concepts of social barriers, opportunity structure, and levels of social organization that guided the fieldwork in the school as sensitizing concepts and motivated the organization of the material in this and the next part of the report. Additionally, reference is made to other studies which offer comparative contrast. Chapters 6 and 7 describe the school from the perspectives first of the teacher and then of the student.

CHAPTER 5: ORIENTING CONCEPTS

A recent effort to organize ethnographic data on schools and on cultural transmission in general draws attention to the concept of social barriers as mediated by social identities. This approach is referred to by Gearing and his associates, its orginators, as a "general cultural theory of education." Contradicting the folk model of learning which is popular in the United States and which posits that it is inherently difficult to transfer knowledge from one person to another, Gearing maintains that knowledge flows freely between people unless it is restrained by social barriers. Such barriers are thought to arise when conventional social practices limit the amount and type of exchange between members of different social groups. While the folk model holds that the distribution of knowledge in a society is best explained by the distribution of learning abilities among the population, Gearing postulates that the distribution of knowledge is better explained by the difficulty of transmitting knowledge across social barriers. (Gearing 1973; Gearing and Tindall 1973; Gearing 1976a, b; Gearing et al., n.d.).

Gearing has emphasized that information is acquired primarily in interactional contexts and that the use of information (which is viewed as a necessary criterion of learning) can for the most part be fully realized only in social interaction. As a result of the structuring of social interaction, information is differentially distributed or at least differentially permitted expression. Another way of conceptualizing this association is to say that information and knowledge are an integral part of the content of social roles or identities (e.g., adult, child, black student, white student). Opportunity to acquire and display or employ information associated with a given identity is made difficult for those not permitted access to the identity. This bounding of interaction by conceptualizations that people have of what it means to enact a given identity constrain, in other words, what may be learned. Participants are not free to define their identities and roles as they see fit, but rather must choose among the limited alternatives available to them in a particular context. In Spradley and Mann's (1975) micro-ethnography of a mid-western college bar, for example, it is apparent that women who come into the bar are treated as either female customers, dates of male customers, friends of bar employees, or cocktail waitresses. Once sorted into one of these categories, a woman is confronted with certain behavioral expectations, rights, and obligations. The waitresses, for example, are expected to engage in sexual banter with male customers and bartenders regardless of whether it is their practice to use sexual imagery in conversing outside the bar context. Similarly, classroom observations by Talbert (1970) indicate that students are limited to a small number of alternative identities in the classroom and that these identities are associated with behavioral expectations that limit learning. In Talbert's study, for example, students classified by the teacher as marginal to the class because of misbehavior were expected to acquire little or no knowledge in the classroom and were given little chance to display such information.[1]

THE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL

Gearing's theory argues, in essence, that individuals learn from those with whom they interact as restrained by the social identity into which they are cast. This argument focused attention then, on the social identities recognized in a situation, the information that a possessor of such an identity can display, and the social barriers to acquisition of such an identity. Particularly, we are interested in the relationship between these identities and social race. Does social race itself constitute the basis of an identity? Does it limit access to other identities?

The conceptual framework further suggests that attention be paid to the range of individuals with whom a student interacts since it is from these individuals that a student will learn. Social boundaries or barriers explain in part the difficulties that arise for individuals when they attempt an identity or an aspect of an identity forbidden to them in a given context. Barriers do not, however, fully explain the choices that individuals make in alloting their time and energy to some interactions or identities and not to others. For this, an additional concept is adopted -- that of social rewards. This concept and that of social barriers are then incorporated into the notion of "opportunity structure."[2]

The school may be viewed as providing a set of interactive contexts from which social rewards (and, as was discussed above, learning) may be obtained. "Social rewards" is used here to refer to the variety of outcomes derivable from the school context which the participants consider to be positive. What is rewarding depends on the perspective of the individual. There is no constraint that what is rewarding in the eyes of one individual will be considered equally so in the eyes of the next. These rewards include tangible returns, such as salaries, as well as intangible enjoyment that may accompany the performance of some activity such as directing a play, reading a library book, or gossiping. Of perhaps even greater significance are symbolic rewards. McCall and Simmons (1966), whose essay provides the basis for this discussion of opportunity structures, argue that these rewards are of utmost importance in determining choice among alternative activities. Symbolic rewards are derived from opportunities to validate claims to self-assigned role identities. "Role identity" is defined by McCall and Simmons (1966:67) as "the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position. More intuitively, such a role-identity is his imaginative view of himself as he likes to think of himself being and acting as an occupant of that position." Situations arise in which one is able to demonstrate that one is a good dancer, a compassionate teacher, a good athlete, a beautiful person, a big eater, or whatever self-assigned role identities one values. (See, for example, McPherson's 1972 analysis of the social rewards of teachers.)

A school, or any institution, can be conceived of as having an opportunity structure which includes the total set of opportunities for procurement of social rewards that are available to school participants. As described above, it is likely that not all of these opportunities are available to or desirable to every participant. Because of social barriers, participants differ in the actual opportunities available to them; because, in part, of differences in background and experiences, participants differ in the opportunities desirable to them.

THE INSTABILITY OF OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

Opportunity structures exist through the actions of all the participants. Participants preserve the reality of social identities by behaving differently toward individuals possessing differing identities; they preserve the meaningfulness of the reward system by honoring it; they provide instrumental support for activities by helping to stage them; and they make possible the rewards derived from relationships by taking on relational roles, such as friend, which bond people together and shape their interaction across many activities. The potential fluidity in such situations is obvious. Participants in an institution can alter the opportunity structure by altering their behavior, by recognizing new social identities, by staging new activities, or be refusing to participate in old. Thus, the opportunity structure of an institution is usually larger than the formal or officially sanctioned structure. Generally, it includes in addition to officially recognized identities, rules, groups, and relationships, ones which are honored by convention. In addition to being expanded, both the formal and the informal structure may also come under attack by participants who seek to alter it by eliminating or instituting barriers. School desegregation is a case in point.

The fluidity of various features of the system depend in part on the level of organization at which it is supported. A scheme well laid out in Gordon (1957) describes familiar levels that are useful in discussing an educational system. These levels are the formal, semi-formal, and informal. This distinction of formal, semi-formal, and informal relates to the source of legitimization of the rules, regulations, and roles that are followed. Formal and semi-formal rules are ones that are dictated and backed up by recognized groups that control certain resources and continue to exist despite a turnover in personnel. Semi-formal groups differ from formal groups in that they are recognized only by a portion of those who recognize the formal groups; and, they are vulnerable to policy made by the formal groups, but not the reverse. Informal groups are those which are not officially recognized, which control resources indirectly if at all, which back up their rules by social pressure, and which are susceptible to rapid change owing to turnovers in personnel. In the school system, the school board would be an example of a formal group; the faculty committees at Grandin, semi-formal groups; and a student friendship clique, an informal group.

The various aspects of the conceptual framework adopted here, with its focus on interactions, social barriers to interaction, and level of reward, were not in all cases specifically developed for the study of schools. A number of social-organizational features of schools that have been identified conceptually and empirically, however, provide indications of the applicability of the framework. Calhoun and Ianni (1976), for example, refer to the importance of sorting of school participants into categories on the basis of both ascription and achievement. Rist's (1973) research in St. Louis produced a graphic example of this sorting process at work in "tracking" whereby a teacher's ability groupings of students in the first two weeks of kindergarten eventually resulted in student relationships corresponding to these divisions. According to Rist, these students were sorted by the teacher on the basis of social-class cues. Others, such as Scrupski (1975), have pointed to the effects of extra-curricular activities in creating an elite among high school students. These conceptual and research-related developments suggest some of the means by which social identities are created and maintained, and by which social barriers are manifested in schools, thus barring universal access to certain activities and relationships.

Recurrent patterns in attempts to enlarge or modify the opportunity structure of the school are also evident in the literature. Burnett (1969) and Kimball and Wagley (1974), for example, have discussed the existence of a student system as an important system in the schools alongside the administrative and academic systems. As shall be seen at Grandin, as with other schools that have been described, there is a social world that operates apart from the adult-lead classroom activities and the day-to-day administration of the school. In this student system, groups and friendships are not directly dictated by the school adults; nor are the rules, identities, and values that the students adopt. This system significantly expands the opportunity structure available to the students in the school and, to the extent that it competes with the structure established by the teacher in the classroom, it constitutes a force with which the teacher must reckon.

The student systems, in our terms, consist of student-organized activities and student-sponsored relationships which result from student efforts to expand and control the opportunity structure available for themselves in the school. Furthermore, research suggests that these informal student groups develop in response to the nature of the official system. For example, Coleman's (1965) study of adolescent society in high schools indicated that norms limiting student work output developed among students, as they have been shown to do in factories, where the rewards are based on the relative amounts of production among workers. More pertinent perhaps to the study of desegregated schools are the findings of Lacey (1970), Johnson (1976), and Foxworthy (1976) to the effect that overt tracking of students into self-contained classes tends to produce polarization among students. Two groups are produced, one of which is accepting of the adult-valued student characteristics; the other an anti-group which denigrates and mocks these values, promoting defiance as heroic acts. McDermott (1974) shows a similar result in a case where students having social characteristics such as styles of speech associated with the pariah caste are relegated to the bottom groups in the school. In response, these students come to constitute an anti-group which not only favors behavior in opposition to that valued by adults but which also demonstrates membership by cultivating an inability to exhibit the skills taught in the classroom. McDermott argues that these students have to work just as hard at not learning as do the students who are learning. Another similar result of interest here is the finding of Gallimore, et al. (1974). During a five-year study of Hawaiian-American students they found that the cultural barriers interfering with the establishment of teacher-student roles acceptable to both the Hawaiian-American students and their mainland white teachers produced in some cases a "culture of conflict" in which both teachers and students viewed and acted toward one another as enemies.

From ethnographic studies of desegregated high schools, such as those of Kimball and Wagley (1974) and Collins and Noblitt (1976a), we know that there tends to be informal segregation among high school students. In contrast, the scanty observational data on younger students in desegregated contexts indicates that students in preschool and early grades do not informally segregate themselves according to social race. (See Byrd 1975 and Trubowitz 1969.) The formation of a separate system in high school suggests an enlargement of the opportunity structure in response, perhaps, to social barriers that are present in high schools but not in preschools and early elementary grades.

In brief, the school system is viewed as offering to participants a variety of opportunities, some institutionally approved, others not. Together, the choices of the participant and the relevant social boundaries delimit the opportunities in which the participants will engage and the social identities which he or she will pursue. Obviously, simply mixing together children and adults who differ according to various socially significant categories will not necessarily produce random mixture in all contexts and activities. Thus, students will not necessarily have equal access to all learning activities or have opportunities to practice skills and utilize relevant information. In the present study, therefore, our aim is to describe the processes whereby individuals categorized according to social race are differentially found participating in various learning/interactional opportunities.

The opportunity structures differ somewhat in content, and certainly in importance depending upon the vantage point of the individual participant. In our discussion, we shall first adopt the perspective of the teacher. Then, we shall adopt that of the student. In effect, we will be describing the social organization[3] of the school as it is encountered first by the teacher and then by the student.

Chapters 6 and 7 outline, first for the teacher and then for the student, the roles and rules that must be followed, the groups and relationships which may be joined, and their meanings. In describing the basic outlines of these systems, it is necessary to mention social-race differences in a few areas only. Nonetheless, in the final chapter of the section it will be seen that the basic system also accommodates differential participation in certain areas according to social race.

CHAPTER 6: BEING A TEACHER AT GRANDIN

Unlike some contemporary American schools, Grandin is not locked against unwanted intruders. However, like most other schools in the county, it is a place of limited access. A sign on the front door reads:

> ---NOTICE---
>
> This Building is a Public
> Building and Visitors are
> Welcome. However, all
> Visitors are Required to
> Report to the Principal's
> Office and State the Purpose
> of your Visit.

The secretary and principal screen potential visitors to the school, admitting only those who are involved with education, maintenance of the facilities, or the health of the students and school adults.

Once inside the school, the major organizing principle is age. Adults have access to one set of social identities; children have access to another. There is little overlap. This is because there is a fundamental relationship between all children in the school and all adults. All adults, no matter what their official status, have the right to admonish wrongdoers and some implicit responsibility to see to the safety of the children. These central aspects of the adult role are attributed even to anthropologists.

In a basic sense, the set of events called school is organized and staged (in Goffman's terms)[1] for the students. When the students are not persuaded to join in, there can be no "school." Instead, students pursue their own activities, disregarding the directives of school adults. Grandin adults attribute this dreaded state of affairs to the teacher, saying that the teacher has "lost control" of the classroom. In the few times this loss of control was observed at Grandin (mainly in the case of one particular substitute teacher), the transformation of the classroom to a place of chaotic activities and potentially violent squabbling was awe-inspiring.

Teachers must convince students to participate in the classroom structure, but they are not free to act as they please in order to gain control. They must operate within the confines of district and school policy. Furthermore, the teacher must deal with direct impingements by district and school administrators, by parents, and by other teachers. In both the formal and the informal systems, they are constrained.

THE FORMAL SYSTEM

The formal system is constituted by the operations of the school board members and administrative officers of the district as they effect the design and implementation of district policy. In this system, teachers are divided into a number of categories associated with differences in wages, job security, responsibilities, and direct supervisor.

One of the basic distinctions lies in whether one is a regular classroom teacher, a resource teacher, or a special-subject teacher. The majority of teachers are regular classroom teachers. They have ultimate responsibility for the student during the day. If a resource or special-subject teacher ejects a student from the class, the student usually is sent back to the regular teacher. As dictated by district policy, the regular teacher is responsible for at the most 33 students to whom they teach all the basic subjects at Grandin.

Special-subject teachers direct the student's program in music and physical education. In the case of these two subjects, the time of the teachers is regularly available. An art teacher and a health teacher visit the school occasionally to assist the regular teacher. All of these special-subject teachers and the librarian take a regular classroom teacher's group for short periods, usually about 30 minutes, for instruction in the particular subject.

Over the two years we were at Grandin. This basic pattern for classroom teachers changed. During the first year, the sixth-grade teachers initiated "blocking" for reading and math. The students were sorted according to ability, as determined by teacher-administered tests, and divided among the teachers for those periods so that a teacher might have more homogeneous groups for math and reading. This practice was adopted for all the grades in the school during the second year. Thus, a regular teacher would have the same group for most of the day, except during the one-and-one-half hour period when reading and math blocking occurred. This blocking arrangement facilitated overall scheduling for regular classroom teachers since all students received math and reading instruction at the same time. Before, students in resource classes were leaving and entering their regular classrooms throughout the day. On the other hand, the ET teacher was inconvenienced by having to include instruction in reading as part of the class material.

Another category of teacher, "resource teacher" as they were called at Grandin, instructs students who have been judged to require either remedial attention or an opportunity to develop their special potential. Unlike regular teachers whose jobs are more permanent as long as enrollment does not decline, teachers hired to teach in special programs funded by federal monies may be subject to job loss if the monies are discontinued and not replaced by local funds. Resource teachers also are subject to different rules concerning size of classroom. The remedial math class at Grandin, for example, is allowed to contain approximately half the number of students taught by a regular teacher. Resource teachers meet five or six classes of 15 or less requiring remedial math, remedial reading, special sessions for the "educably mentally retarded" (EMR), or "exceptionally talented" (ET).

This distinction among teachers in the formal system is elaborated upon by the teachers themselves. (See Table 6.1, which provides background characteristics of the regular versus resource and special-subject teachers.) To some regular teachers, for example, their job appears more difficult than that of the resource teachers because they, unlike the resource teachers, are responsible for the students all day long and because they have such large numbers of students in their classes. Resource teachers reject this argument on the basis that they have more students overall. These opinions about job differences are not well developed in the sense that everyone seems to accept or believe them. Nonetheless, they do in some ways render understandable some of the interactions that teachers of different types have. Resource and special-

TABLE 6.1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF GRANDIN TEACHERS (N=21), 1977

	Classroom Teachers (n=11)	Resource and Special-Subject Teachers (n=10)
Mean Years Teaching	21.7	10.1
Mean Years Teaching at Grandin	8.8	5.3
Mean Years Teaching in Segregated Schools	12.5	4.1
Mean Years Undergraduate Training	4.0	3.2
Mean Years Postgraduate Training	1.1	0.6
% Raised in North Carolina	63.6	60.0
% Raised in Bradford City or County	36.3	30.0
% College-educated in North Carolina	63.6	70.0
% Residing in Bradford City School District	63.6	60.0

subject teachers who can control their students and thus not have to go to the extreme of sending the students back to their regular classroom teacher are respected, if for no other reason than allowing the regular teacher a respite. One of the teachers pointed out, for example, that at many of the schools in the district, the regular teacher is required to remain in the library with his/her students since the librarian is unable to handle the class otherwise. At Grandin, it is not necessary for teachers to stay with their class in the library.

Another distinction among teachers in the formal system is that of grade level. A teacher is categorized as being capable of teaching different grade levels. This division is not very important at Grandin since the school contains basically fourth, fifth and six grades which all "grammar school teachers" are supposed to be able to teach.[2] There are preferences among the teachers for grade levels which may or may not be honored depending upon the needs of the school. Assignment is at the discretion of the principal if there are two teachers who wish the same grade level but only one class is available.

Students recognize the distinctions of classroom versus special-subject and resource teachers and the distinctions of grade level, although they usually refer to special-subject and resource teachers according to the subject they teach, e.g., math, art, music.[3]

Another formal distinction is that between a permanent teacher and a "substitute teacher." Substitutes are listed by the central office and called by a principal when the need arises. Some permanent teachers are quite particular about the substitutes they want for their classes and they may also influence the principal's selection of a long-term substitute. Substitute teachers have a unique relationship to the other teachers and to the students because of the temporary nature of their presence. They are expected to be able to control their classes, but not necessarily to manage a great deal of learning. Neither are they expected by the other teachers or the principal to know all the ins and outs of the informal system that operates in the school. Interestingly enough, the students are aware that substitute teachers lack particular knowledge about the school and they dislike teachers who will not admit their ignorance.

Students also are aware of and make use of the formal distinction of student teacher. The college student from a local college or university may either be a student teacher or a type of teacher's assistant.[4] Students have certain expectations for student teachers, as do regular teachers. Both emphasize the distinction between student teachers and regular teachers while student teachers try to de-emphasize it, a probable source of tension for the apprentice teacher. Many students persisted for quite a while in believing that we were student teachers, because we observed in class, looked relatively young, and came from a local university.

A division that is less important to students is that of teacher's aide. Although aids are formally distinguished from teachers by training, wages, duties, and supervisor, students make little distinction between aides and teachers in the two resource classes which have aides. They do not treat the aides differentially or talk about them as being different types of teachers. Many of the students know the distinction, but do not find it important to reflect that distinction linguistically or behaviorally.

A final feature of the formal system is that it recognizes seniority and social race as legitimate categories upon which to base teacher-assignment decisions. Length of experience in the district and in a given school is considered a justifiable reason for deciding who shall be moved to another school or possibly be faced with lack of a job. Because of the declining enrollment in the district, decisions on who shall be moved to a different school are being faced constantly. The number of regular teachers allotted to a school depends upon the enrollment; if the enrollment drops below a given number of pupils per teacher, a teaching slot is lost. So far, due to the failure to replace teachers resigning and retiring, and the opening of new jobs in special programs, the school district has not faced the problem of lay-offs.

In the 1970-71 school year, as described in a previous section, the faculties of Bradford's schools were significantly desegregated and teachers were assigned to schools on the basis of social race. At present, the official policy is to consider the social-race composition of existing faculty in deciding where to place equally qualified teachers being transferred from a closed school or a school with declining enrollment. Social race is also considered a legitimate criterion for deciding between equally qualified candidates for positions.[5]

Although the category of social race is important at Grandin in that the official policy affects the assignment of all teachers in the district, this distinction is not elaborated upon in the school in the same way as the regular/resource/special-subject categorization. There is some attribution of distinctive points of view, interests, objectives, competencies, practices, or difficulties to "white teachers" as a group or to "black teachers" as a group, but not in public. In this sense, these distinctions are more accurately described as part of the informal system and will be discussed in more detail in that section.

Markers of Distinctions Among School Participants

A new visitor to Grandin would have great difficulties in trying to guess which type of teacher a given adult is only by clues of dress and student behavior toward the adult. The visitor would be able to distinguish the cafeteria workers as they wear uniforms and the janitorial staff as they either wear uniforms or cloths suitable to their cleaning tasks. Repairmen and bus drivers are distinguishable by the same token. Otherwise, except for the physical education teacher who wears suitable attire for participating in sports, it would be quite difficult to distinguish the principal from the librarian, from a fourth grade teacher, from the secretary, and so forth, strictly by apparel. Most of the school adults wear clothes similar to those worn by government or other white-collar workers. In this respect, some of the student teachers and student aides from a nearby university stood out slightly because of their less formal attire of blue jeans.

Students at Grandin are not required to differentiate themselves from adults by wearing uniforms as is required in some private schools. Although student clothing is generally more informal than that of adults, some of the students wear clothes which look like tailored-down versions of the adults' clothing.

Physical markers of social distinctions at the school, it must be concluded, are not very important. Unlike some small-scale communities which have been described wherein elaborate decorative marking of social identity is important, it does not appear necessary in this school system. Perhaps, the important distinctions are sufficiently indicated by physical differences associated with age.

Students of the ethnography of speaking (Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Blount 1974) have noted that rituals of greeting and leave-taking are often laden with social information about the relationship between members of a group. Could the visitor to Grandin pick up any information about the distinctions among teachers by observing these exchanges? The answer here again would have to be very little. Most of the teachers address one another and other members of the staff, especially within the hearing of the students, by title (Miss, Mrs., or Mr.) plus last name. In more informal settings, a first name may be used or the last name without title according to friendship, except perhaps in the case of the principal. Although university and administrative personnel coming into the school were heard to refer to the principal by his first name, teachers were never heard to do so.

Students do not distinguish among types of teacher by address forms either. They address all adults by title plus last name. They greet teachers with, "Hello, Mr. Evens" or "Good afternoon, Mrs. Holland." Although the students may refer to a teacher by the teacher's first name in private in a joking fashion, they do not use first names to address adults in the school.[6] Students at Grandin, then, demonstrate public respect for adults regardless of their position by formally addressing them using their title plus last name. Additionally, although this rule is violated at times, students show respect for adults by adopting a more formal style of speaking which includes the omission of "curse" words and, for some adults, the omission of "non-standard" forms of English. In addition, students are reserved about touching adults. They may put their hands on an adult's arm, lean upon some, or even playfully butt an adult, but only if the adult allows it or invites it. Certainly, the student is not allowed to hit an adult.

All adults, on the other hand, address students by first names or first name plus last name, nicknames, deprecatory terms, diminutives, or even certain gestures which students are not allowed to use in addressing teachers. The only case in which students were able to use a nickname was for a janitor whom they referred to and addressed teasingly (with his approval) as Kojak. The joking relationship that students had with the janitor could be adopted at will be a teacher toward a student, but not the reverse.

Additionally, although some of the adults are especially careful to respect student wishes, adults are able to touch students in a form of endearment that students do not initiate and adults are allowed to hit students in certain restricted manners which the student can in no way reciprocate. And, finally, as shall be touched upon later, adults have the right to intrude into student activities, student territory (e.g., bathrooms), and belongings as they see fit. Interruption of an adult's activity, entry into adult territory, or rummaging through an adult's belonging by a student is likely to bring instant recrimination if not explained and preceded by apologetic actions.

The relationship between teachers and students is further characterized by the teacher's maintenance of a degree of formality in the teacher-student role. While the students are vulnerable to teacher intrusion into their informal activities, teachers generally shield their own from students. Teachers restrict some of their own informal activities such as smoking to backroom areas and, to some extent, do not give students personal information about themselves. These activities maintain a decorum about the teacher that preserves the teacher's authority. Recalling a period of observation in which one of the student teachers was taunted and teased about her apparent romantic interest in one of the male student teachers, it is not difficult to imagine that focusing upon learning activities might be even harder than it normally is if Grandin teachers adopted a more egalitarian relationship with the students. The teachers at Grandin who do treat students more as equals also tend to be charismatic. They are more like popular leaders than authority figures empowered by the system.

In sum, the major distinction between student and adult is marked in the school, while the internal formal differentiations among teachers are muted.

THE SEMI-FORMAL SYSTEM

The rules, regulations, school activities, and roles as delineated by district policy are augumented at Grandin by the existence of additional rules, groups, activities, and roles which although not mandated at the district level, are traditional ways of accomplishing certain tasks that are performed in the school. These groups and roles are created, maintained, and recognized by the faculty as a whole and/or by the principal.

There are a number of semi-formal tasks which are performed by various members of the faculty and staff. Supervising the arrival and departure of students in the school building, for example, is a job that is repeatedly undertaken by certain individuals, as is supervising the students who eat breakfast in the morning, organizing performances for the school, and acting as faculty supervisor of the patrols.

A clear semi-formal grouping is that of the faculty committees formed to accomplish certain jobs around the school. These committees are not formally mandated by the school district, yet they are recognized elements of organization in the school. Thus, they are referred to here as constituting an element of the semi-formal organization of the school. These committees take care of jobs such as selecting decorations for the new office, arranging parties for the teachers at Christmas, and sending flowers and cards to members of the faculty undergoing an illness, operation, or similar life crisis.

A final source of semi-formal distinctions among teachers involves a distinction between male and female teachers. Although the distinction is not recognized as a formal one, it is a category within the school that is considered a reasonable although not obligatory basis for assigning space and apportioning responsibilities.

When the office was moved the second year of the study, a "men's lounge" was created in the newly freed inner office. In the previous year, the men that had wanted to smoke had gone to the "health room" rather than to the "teachers' lounge" which the women use as a place to smoke, relax, and eat.

While women have also offered to do so, in terms of extra duties, the men have voluntarily taken the semi-formal jobs of overseeing the entry and exit of the students to and from the school grounds. More likely than not, a student arriving on a bus will find the principal outside watching his arrival and will meet a male teacher in the hall watching his movement to the cafeteria or classroom, inquiring after his worried expression, or stopping an argument. If the student goes to the cafeteria to eat breakfast, he will be supervised by a male teacher. In the afternoon, the student is likely to again see the principal and/or one of the male teachers seeing him off on the bus. The last day of school, the student is more likely to see a male teacher ride the bus to prevent any end-of-school retaliatory fights. In some cases, the male teachers also supervise physical education periods outside on the playground for female teachers who prefer staying indoors. Certain jobs, such as putting up decorations high on the gymnatorium walls, are also turned over to males if possible. Women, on the other hand, might have the job of talking to a female student about her style of dress, paddling a female (or at least being present if the male teacher feared a sexual interpretation of the event), or supervising the female students of a male teacher who was busy elsewhere.

Besides the apportioning of jobs and space, the sex distinction can be associated with participation in the semi-formal teacher parties that are held at school. Men tend not to participate in the name-drawing gift exchange between teachers that occurs at Christmas.

These distinctions based on sex are not extensive and not obligatory, but nonetheless they do seem to be reflected in the manner in which jobs are done, on how a small portion of the space of the school is allocated, and on participation in teacher celebrations.

All the formal and semi-formal distinctions drawn among teachers are irrelevant in certain circumstances. All the teachers are included in teachers' meetings and expected to attend PTA meetings. Only the janitorial, cafeteria, and secretarial staff are not expected to participate in such meetings. This irrelevance of distinctions among teachers also is represented in exchange of gifts at the Christmas party. The lack of differentiation among the teachers is indicated by the inclusion of all the teachers and the secretary in the name drawing to determine who will purchase gifts for whom. Unlike many other schools in the district, the janitorial and cafeteria workers are given presents by the principal who also gives all the teachers small gifts of the same type. The principal and secretary, in turn, receive gifts from the teachers as a group.

INFORMAL GROUPINGS AMONG TEACHERS

A new teacher at Grandin is included automatically in the formal and semi-formal systems described above. At a slower pace, he or she would also be incorporated into the voluntary groups and relationships that constitute the informal system.

These groupings are more nebulous than those described in the previous section. They are based completely upon voluntary associations and relationships in which members of the group or dyad are linked by friendship, common interests, perspectives, or problems. Although members may agree or act in concert in certain situations, the groupings are unnamed and unrecognized in either the formal or semi-formal systems. It is at this level, as we shall see in more detail in Chapter 8, that the integration of black and white teachers and the integration of black and white students tends to be somewhat incomplete.

One such group, consists of "the 6th grade teachers" or the "6th grade hall." These teachers cooperate in ways that one would never expect from recent sociological research (Lortie 1975) that suggests that teachers tend to be fairly isolated from one another. These teachers organized among themselves a system of blocking students according to ability for math and for reading which was later adopted by the whole school. Two of the teachers have departmentalized their classes according to their own area of expertise so that one teacher instructs both classes in science, while the other instructs both classes in social studies. In some cases, the teachers cooperate during the Physical Education period so that their classes may choose from among a number of both indoor and outdoor activities. Similarly, Friday recreation periods, with dancing in one case and basketball in another, were organized by two of the teachers and made available to students of the others. In a like manner, the teachers share ideas about methods of dealing with different students and other pertinent school infomation.

Another group of teachers which is sometimes spoken of as sharing common interests and philosophy are the "resource teachers," meaning particularly the remedial math and remedial reading teachers and their aides. These teachers tend to help students by arranging or getting them involved in special projects. One of these teachers, for example, keeps secondhand clothing in a box in the classroom, so that needy students might have a source of additional clothing. Another effort involved securing a summer tutor for students having difficulty with certain subjects. Some students were also associated with a "big brother" through the effort of one of these teachers. Another of these teachers quite often went out of her way to counsel students on their adjustment to school and to social relations while one of the teachers arranged a general assembly on adjustment to school. This is not to suggest that the other teachers did not act as counselors for for students, intercede in a student's behalf with out-of-school problems, or have contact with the students outside of school hours, as these teachers did. One of the other teachers, for example, coached in one of the city's sports recreation programs. Rather, the point is that the resource teachers were more likely to be involved in these sorts of special projects. They themselves recognize such activities as an integral part of their job, stressing that because they deal with fewer students at a time and often have the same students over several years, they are better able to diagnose and deal with special problems.

Aside from these groupings of 6th grade teachers and resource teachers, there are also even less formally recognized, in the sense that they are unnamed, friendships, networks, and clusters. These groups, like the named ones, spend time together in school sharing stories about their classroom experiences and problems, talking about the events in their lives outside of school, discussing the local, national, and school news, sharing information about the informal school rules and structures, sitting together at meetings, sharing rides and materials, praising one another's accomplishments, and laughing at one another's jokes. It is particularly at this level of friendship that school adults tend to be informally segregated by social race.

Along another line, there is one additional informal grouping. In the discussion of formal groupings, it was pointed out that social race is seen in some contexts as a basis for grouping. Although such references are infrequent and occur in private, black teachers are sometimes talked about as a group as are white teachers. These references attribute to blacks or whites a commonality in style or approach. One white teacher, for example, expressed the belief that black teachers are less likely than whites to try to enlist the aid of a child's parents if they are having difficulty with the child. The teacher was puzzled as to why this should be the case. Another teacher expressed the view that white teachers, with some exceptions, do not know how to control the students who currently attend Grandin. They tend to lack the understanding or training necessary to be able to interact with the students in a way they understand. While the teacher who stated this opinion appended it by saying that there were exceptions and named those in Grandin who were exceptions, there was an expressed concern that most white teachers currently in the systen and being trained lack this competency.

In closing this section, it might be pointed out that teacher age is not an important basis for grouping at Grandin. Neither is political activity. McPherson (1972) talks about a major division in the school she studied as being between "the old guard" and the "newcomers." These informal groups differed with regard to teaching and disciplinary method, among other things. At Grandin, there is at least one teacher who mourns the prevalence of more traditional teaching methods at the school but, by-and-large, the open education methods being taught in local teacher-training institutions do not have strong advocates at the school. A student teacher supervisor's efforts to introduce some of these methods via the student teachers was completely thwarted in this regard. Also, methods of punishment, particularly corporal punishment, were targets of conflict with the student teachers. Again, however, outspoken opponents of corporal punishment are not represented at Grandin. One of the younger teachers who had not been trained to use such punishment, finally adopted it with certain students at the advice of other teachers, an act to which the students took some time to get accustomed. When this teacher once took out one of the students, paddle in hand, another student was heard to sincerely ask another, "Does she really use that?"

Another potential source of informal grouping, which did not seem to operate at Grandin, is that of activity in professional associations. In North Carolina, the NCAE (North Carolina Association of Educators) is the central professional organization which seeks to promote the interests of teachers. In the past, as a demonstration of professionalism, teachers were "encouraged" by their principals to join the NCAE. As the strength of the organization has grown, however, most teachers have joined eagerly. A political offshoot organization called PACE (Political Action Committee for Education) is also a force for teacher concerns. One of the teachers in the school is active in PACE and made literature and information on scheduled meetings available to other teachers in the school. Another teacher became active in the local chapter of ACT (Association of Classroom Teachers) and was the organization's chief spokesman at a school board meeting on the question of altering the scheduling of vacations. Despite the presence of these two teachers who are active in professional organizations, the limited involvement in such affairs did not make it the basis of a grouping of teachers. The teacher who acted as a spokesperson for ACT at the school board meeting, for example, was unable to succeed in getting any of the other Grandin teachers to attend the meeting and support his position.

THE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE FOR TEACHERS AT GRANDIN

The formal, semi-formal, and informal systems described in the preceding sections constitute the basic dimensions of the structure into which teachers are incorporated. The new teacher arriving at Grandin is faced with a variety of possible groupings and relationships. By ascription to some of these groups, by efforts to join others, and perhaps by establishing new ones, each teacher acquires a particular place in the social system of the school. A teacher might, for example, be hired to teach in elementary school, then be assigned to teach sixth grade, establish and direct a student club, volunteer to be on a faculty committee, and form friendships with a particular informal group in the school.

These positions in the system provide the teacher with access to various rewards; they also expose the teacher to evaluation by those who affect the distribution of rewards. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to sketching in the broad aspects of the meanings associated with teaching and therefore the basis of the evaluative reward systems that affect most of the teachers.

Wages

Wages are an obvious incentive to teaching without which most Grandin teachers would probably quit. Although wages are seldom if ever discussed and how much one makes is not bandied about, it is clear that most of the teachers depend upon their wages. One substitute, in fact, was said to have been such a bad teacher because she was wealthy and did not need the money. It was thought by some that she was simply substitute teaching for a lark.

As a representative of the teacher's employer, the principal affects the teacher's access to wages. The teacher is regularly evaluated according to a district form provided to the principal. (Figure 6.1 is a reproduction of this form, while Figure 6.2 is a guide for completing the evaluation.) The principal's evaluation may be augmented by others such as that of the supervisor and that of other administrators such as the Assistant Superintendent of Instruction. Although the principal does not ultimately make hiring and firing decisions, the principal's word is important.

An examination os the form reproduced in Figure 6.1 indicates that the principal is asked to evaulate the teacher's worth as an instructor, a colleague, and an employee. In an overall sense, the principal evaluates how well the teacher fits into the structure of the school. The principal is supposed to pass along directives from the central office to the teachers, monitor the quality of the teaching, and see to it that teachers carry out their duties. A teacher who is a poor instructor, colleague, or employee disrupts the functioning of the school which in turn may draw negative public attention on the school and its principal. To some extent, then, a teacher who is disruptive by upsetting parents, by disturbing other teachers, or by failing to carry out administrative duties, is *ipso facto* a poor teacher.

FIGURE 6.1: TEACHER EVALUATION FORM

Teacher___________________________Degree______________Major____________

Grade/Subject____

School____________________________Years of Experience__________________

	Inadequate Performance	Meets or Exceeds Standards
I. Personal Qualities A. Temperament_________		
B. Dependability_______		
C. Tactfulness_________		
D. Attitude toward Constructive Criticism_______________		
E. Cooperation________		
F. Attendance and Punctuality________		
II. Professional Qualities A. Enthusiasm_________		
B. Judgment___________		
C. Loyalty to School System_____________		
D. Rapport with Students		
E. Rapport with Parents_		
F. Rapport with Staff___		
III. Teaching Performance and Classroom Management A. Mastery of Subject Matter_______________		
B. Teaching Techniques__		
C. Command of the English Language_____________		
D. Classroom Organization and Appearance_______		
IV. Out-of-Class Responsibilities__________________		
V. Reports and Records_____		

****

Classroom visits were made on (dates)________________________________

____

RECOMMENDATIONS: Recommended____________Probation______Not Recommended___

COMMENTS (Use back if needed____

____

Date___________

___________________________ _____________________________

Principal's Signature Teacher's Signature

(The teacher's signature only acknowledges that the principal has reviewed the teacher's final evaluation with the teacher.)

FIGURE 6.2: TEACHER EVALUATION GUIDE

Purpose: To assist the administration in determining future placement and references, and to provide a professional growth instrument for the teaching staff of the [Bradford School District].

Categories: The interpretations listed below should serve as a guide in developing ratings:

I. PERSONAL QUALITIES

A. TEMPERAMENT
  1. Is at ease in classroom
  2. Handles situations with patience and calmness

B. DEPENDABILITY
  1. Accepts assigned responsibilities
  2. Completes assignments in given time limits
  3. Uses initiative in getting things done
  4. Accepts leadership

C. TACTFULNESS
  1. Exhibits diplomacy with pupils and adults
  2. Uses discretion in handling confidential information
  3. Has good self-control

D. ATTITUDE TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM
  1. Accepts criticism well
  2. Welcomes criticism and makes good use of it

E. COOPERATION
  1. Works harmoniously and cooperatively with others
  2. Takes initiative in improving relationships
  3. Works to carry out the program and policies of the school

F. ATTENDANCE AND PUNCTUALITY
  1. Arrives at school on time
  2. Attends regularly
  3. Has acceptably good health

II. PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES

A. ENTHUSIASM
  1. Creates the kind of atmosphere that indicates enthusiasm in his work
  2. Shows interest in motivating students

B. JUDGMENT
  1. Makes wise choices and decisions
  2. Exhibits wise judgment in planning and carrying out plans with pupils and teaching staff

C. LOYALTY TO SCHOOL SYSTEM
  1. Supports the school in words and deeds
  2. Exhibits confidence in his fellow teachers and the administration

D. RAPPORT WITH STUDENTS
  1. Has respect and understanding for all pupils
  2. Is considerate of pupils' needs

E. RAPPORT WITH PARENTS
  1. Exhibits a good understanding between parents and teachers in most cases
  2. Listens to parents' expressions and concerns about students

F. RAPPORT WITH STAFF
  1. Works cooperatively with school staff
  2. Recognizes and appreciates the good work of his associates

TEACHER EVALUATION GUIDE (Figure 6.2 Continued)

III. TEACHING PERFORMANCE AND CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

A. MASTERY OF SUBJECT MATTER

1. Shows evidence of good subject matter background
2. Succeeds in making subject matter vital and interesting
3. Uses a variety of materials

B. TEACHING TECHNIQUES

1. Adapts techniques and materials to varied abilities of pupils (including self-motivation)
2. Makes effective choices of learning experiences
3. Uses innovations in teaching approaches

C. COMMAND OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

1. Communicates well with students and adults
2. Makes clear explanations to class

D. CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION AND APPEARANCE

1. Organizes classroom routine well
2. Uses time and effort to the best advantage
3. Makes the classroom attractive and conductive to learning
4. Develops self-discipline in pupils

IV. OUT-OF-CLASS RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Participates when assigned out-of-class responsibilities
2. Assists pupils in instructional needs outside of class
3. Attends workshops and meetings to promote professional growth

V. REPORTS AND RECORDS

1. Hands in reports and records on time
2. Does reports and records accurately and neatly

Identity as a Teacher

There are a number of facets of teaching. Teachers rank themselves and one another according to these various facets. Usually, a teacher takes particular pride in his or her abilities with one facet or another. Some teachers have reputations for being good with certain types of students (e.g., those who are behavior problems) or certain subjects (e.g., social studies). Others savor their dedication to the job and their concern for the students. Still others enjoy reputations as skilled disciplinarians and organizers. As a teacher in a desegregated school, some white teachers view themselves as demonstrating what they consider a positive quality -- flexibility and an ability to adapt to new circumstances.

Teachers are able to validate or demonstrate teacher identities that are rewarding to them in the classroom, in various semi-formal roles that they undertake, and in various activities that they structure in and out of the classroom. Their success in obtaining opportunities to validate these identities is to a degree dependent upon the principal, their colleagues, and their students.

The principal has a role in deciding who will teach what grade level and has the final word on assigning students to classrooms. The principal's sensitivity to a teacher's preferred grade level or to the type of students the teacher prefers to teach is important because it provides the teacher an opportunity to demonstrate special teaching abilities. Teachers' preferences are usually associated with the type of teaching they find rewarding. If a teacher takes pride in being able to handle "behavior problems," stimulate "slow" students, raise top groups to even greater heights, or produce good results with fifth graders, assignment to such students allows the realization of the rewards and allows the teacher an opportunity to validate a positive self-identity.

Teachers do not have as much influence over one another's opportunities to demonstrate special abilities. They can, however, reinforce an identity by their praise and their deferral to the teacher as being particularly skilled in a given area. They can also cooperate with a teacher who is organizing a special event by cheerfully allowing the teacher to take students out of class, lending the teacher resources, or devoting time to the project.

In private, teachers sometimes criticize other teachers for not meeting minimal standards. One teacher who is skilled at maintaining control, for example, disparages those who appear to have poorly developed skills in this area. Another who repeatedly demonstrates personal concern for her students finds upsetting some of the other teachers' behavior which seems to indicate that they view the job simply as a way to make money. Others, who value flexibility, point out the difficulties that arise for those who insist on maintaining older standards. Others who take pride in their instructional approach are critical of selected classroom activities relied upon in some of their colleagues' classes.

These private criticisms are not usually conveyed to those about whom the speaker is critical. Instead, the criticisms are a source of conversation among small informal groups. In an indirect manner, criticizing the failing of another is a way of calling attention to those aspects one values.

Finally, teachers are dependent upon their students as an integral component of their demonstration of special skills as a teacher. Students, especially if they act in concert, can disrupt almost any teacher-organized activity. They can make life truly miserable for the teacher. Students can and will, if determined to do so, undertake all sorts of activities to irritate and upset the teacher. A teacher is unlikely to derive any reinforcement for a valued identity from such treatment.

It is also clear that some students, at least, realize that teachers derive rewards from organizing certain activities for the students. Student conversations sometimes involve plans for gradually dropping out of a voluntary activity so as to avoid upsetting the teacher. Ostensibly, these activities were developed for student benefit and enjoyment, yet students realize that dropping out might hurt the teacher's feelings.

Students are also aware that their demonstration of affection or appreciation of a teacher's skills is positively valued by teachers. One time near the end of the year, one of the researchers was standing in the hall with students who were waiting to enter a classroom. One of the boys grabbed a note from another and gave it to the researcher while the other flailed wildly trying to retrieve it. Since the boy seemed so concerned, the researcher handed back the note without reading it. The boy, however, confessed at the urging of his classmate that the note was a farewell note to the teacher and that it was filled with insincere praise. He was embarrassed at his own insincerity. The researcher records that the student went ahead and gave the teacher the note anyway.

Relationships with Colleagues

Teachers must cooperate to a great extent. Because the rooms are not soundproof and because material, space, and equipment must be shared, teachers must be careful lest they disrupt one another's activities. Scheduling alone is an intricate task that involves everyone's compliance so that all students can be fed, sent to resource, taught music, have access to the library, and so forth. In addition, there are a number of tasks such as hall bulletin boards which everyone shares. On a more general level, all teachers contribute to the overall task of maintaining an atmosphere in the school that promotes student participation. Because of the cooperation necessary, both in sharing supplies, space, and resources and in working together to maintain a social situation compelling to students, teachers depend upon one another to be cooperative, courteous, and responsible about the use of space and supplies.

Teachers have a number of criticisms for those of their fellows who violate these colleagial expectations. Colleagues, for example, may be found wanting if they do not share in extra-classroom duties, they are unable to control their class, they side with the students and thus erode the authority system of the teachers in general, or if they fail to conduct their class so that it does not interfere with others.

A teacher's behavior, in other words, can affect the work of others, sometimes making it easier, at other times, harder. A teacher who disregards the lunch schedule and shows up five minutes early to the cafeteria causes a problem for the teacher whose tables her class is scheduled to use. If a teacher sides with a student against another teacher, that teacher's ability to control the class and ultimately, as would be projected by the image, the ability of the teachers to control all the students is eroded.

Some interactions with a fellow teacher can be very frustrating for those reasons. On the other hand, there are rewarding aspects of relationships among teachers. In general, an air of friendliness and acceptance is maintained in most faculty encounters.[7] Teachers demonstrate acceptance of one another on an individual level and concern for one another's welfare through everyday acts of sociability, interest, involvement, and assistance with minor problems. Christmas and end-of-the-year parties are special times for such demonstrations. They serve as a time for the intensification of such feelings.

Fellow teachers also constitute a source of friends. As discussed above, these friendships and informal groups share experiences and information and provide support.

Relationships with Students

Teachers gain pleasure from their relationships with students who seem to progress under their direction or who are pleasant to be around because of their appealing qualities. It is rewarding to see one's effords bear fruit. Following are some examples of comments made about paticular students.

In talking with one of the researchers, a teacher explained how Earl, who had begun the year in the slow reading class taught by the teacher, had done so well that he had taken a test and placed in a higher group. The teacher expressed satisfaction at having helped this student to do better. Another time a teacher talked about developing an individualized spelling program for a student who was having trouble with spelling. The teacher proudly announced, "Now Melvin's making 100's on his spelling tests!" Many teachers, at one time or another fondly pointed out how better behaved certain students were in their classes than they had been in other classes the teacher had heard about. These examples demonstrate that teachers are rewarded by student progress that seems to be a result of their effort, regardless of the point where the student began. Students who have particular reputations as being slow or behavior problems, are especially challenging to some teachers who pride themselves in being able to work with these types of students.

Relationships with students may also provide pain, dissatisfaction, and frustration. Sometimes situations arise in which the teacher must spend much more time with a student than desired in order to prevent the student from disrupting the class. Such a student comes to be regarded as something of an albatross around the teacher's neck. Other students puzzle and upset teachers because nothing seems to work with them. Others come to be almost hated.

Enjoyable Activities

Teaching provides opportunities for engaging in enjoyable as well as disliked activities. Teachers gain obvious enjoyment from some of the events that go on in school. One teacher, for example, tells his students ghost stories with obvious gusto. Another seems to truly enjoy counseling students; another enjoys supervising baseball games, and another organizing student simulations of real world events.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND POST-DESEGREGATION CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF GRANDIN

In comparing the preceding description of Grandin with existing ethnographic descriptions such as that of McPherson (1972), it is possible to say that school desegregation appears to have left intact most teacher-relevant aspects of the social and cultural systems of the school. It is true that, for the most part, the category of social race has been de-emphasized in the desegregated social system as a formal basis for organization. Aside from this alteration, however, teacher groups and categories operant on the formal, semi-formal, and informal levels are probably similar in form to what they were before desegregation. In addition, the opportunity structures of the school for teachers also seem to be interpreted in a manner that would not be drastically different from the way they were interpreted in the past. The rewards that teachers seek, the evaluative meaning they attach to teaching, remain the same regardless of the social-race composition of the school.

Notwithstanding the lack of differences in these systems, desegregation has brought about an obvious increase in the heterogeneity of styles represented in the school. At present, these styles are on occasion misleadingly interpreted in terms of the old framework. Conflicts, though rare, are for the most part translated into the traditional normative system, thus obscuring their true source. A very clear example of a problem due to differences in style is evident in criticisms that some black teachers make about white teachers, and vice versa. As an example, we may consider disciplinary styles and the concern mentioned above that one black teacher in particular has voiced about some of the white teachers' apparent inability to control their classrooms. One indicator of this inability is the teachers' constant attempts to handle recalcitrant students by sending them to the principal. The black teacher recognizes that this method is inappropriate for some of the black students who regard a teacher's inability to handle the situation alone in the classroom as a sign of weakness. In effect, the teacher who sends students to the principal undermines his or her own authority in the eyes of some of the students because of evident weakness. Unfortunately, there is sometimes no way in which the black teacher can easily transmit this information to the white teachers. The teachers who follow this practice are not members of the informal group to which the black teacher belongs and there is no forum in which such information can be easily presented. Methods of conflict resolution in the school, as shall be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8, primarily serve to suppress and smooth over rather than resolve conflict. Thus, the black teacher who has information relevant to fellow teachers, is forced to translate the information into the traditional framework, emphasizing the other's failure to control the students.

In short, teachers at Grandin encounter a social organization and an opportunity structure many dimensions of which are probably similar to what they were prior to desegregation. This is the case even though there is increased heterogeneity among teachers in terms of disciplinary and instructional methods and interpersonal styles. In the old framework, the one that by-and-large is still maintained at Grandin, it is difficult to air certain kinds of conflicts and to exchange information about cultural differences. The full burden is placed, when such difficulties arise, on the mediational abilities of the principal or certain teachers who sometimes play this role. Although most of the few conflicts that surface are handled by these mediators, some are not successfully resolved.

CHAPTER 7: BEING A STUDENT AT GRANDIN

In this chapter, the groupings imposed upon and imposed by the students at Grandin are analyzed. Taking the perspective of the student, we consider the social organization of the school and the set of social meanings and values that are attached to the manner in which students behave. As with the discussion from the teacher's perspective, the initial topic will be the formal system and its structuring of the students' lives.

THE FORMAL SYSTEM

Official student groupings and classifications come from the same sources as do those of the teachers. Grandin is directed by the central office to abide by certain rules in organizing students for instruction, transportation, and special services.

For instruction, students are classified institutionally according to grade level, ability or achievement, physical or behavioral handicap, and social race. The latter category is used officially in a limited manner. The social race of students is noted on the class rosters kept in the office for utilization in the assignment of students to classes. Regular classrooms must be racially balanced. The social-race distinction is further elaborated upon inside the school; since, however, most of that elaboration is in the informal system, discussion of it will be deferred to that section.

Grade Level

The primary distinctions made among students in official documents and directives have to do with grade level and learning ability or skill mastery. As with teachers, students are officially divided according to their grade level. Subjects, length of school day, type of report cards, and special services are determined according to grade level. Grade level corresponds quite closely with chronological age, since most of the students enter at roughly the same age and are passed along through the system with few retentions.

Special Instructional Programs

Students are differentiated further within grade according to special instructional needs. At the time of the study, the Bradford district was pursuing a policy of "mainstreaming" and "resourcing." In previous years, the class for "exceptionally talented" or "ET students" had been self-contained as had the class for educationally mentally retarded or "EMR students." As a result of a change in district policy (stemming from HEW guidelines), the self-contained classes were abolished, much to the distress of parents of ET students who wished to know how the special needs of their sons and daughters would be met. Instead, all special students were mainstreamed or kept with their regular classmates, being grouped together for special resource classes only during one, or at the most, two one-hour periods during the day.

Resourcing was also a policy that was followed for students having trouble with math and/or reading. Students whose achievement test scores placed them in the 23rd percentile and below in reading or math were included, as space was available, in special resource classes. (Students scoring below those placed in these classes were assigned to EMR.) Where scheduling permitted, these "resource students" would be sent to the resource class during the math or reading period in their regular classroom.

Membership in these special instructional classes is not especially emphasized. Although teachers sometimes direct students to leave class to go to ET or resource, it is often in the form of a reminder to the student that it is time to go to Mrs. Barnes' class or to Mr. James' class. Students also use the teacher's name to refer to the class. With the blocking of classes in the sixth grade, the differences were further muted by the fact that almost everyone went to a teacher other than their regular teacher for math or reading. On the other hand, these classes were separated from the others by special events. A field trip for the ET students to Williamsburg, Virginia, for example, drew attention to the group as a definable unit. Similarly, the picnic held jointly each year by the remedial math, remedial reading, and EMR teachers for their students served to differentiate those students. The extent to which participation in these groups and other ability groupings are reflected in student identities is discussed below.

Emotional or Physical Handicaps

Another official sorting or labeling system to which students are liable involves emotional or physical handicaps. A student whose behavior is upsetting enough to either parent or teacher may become a candidate for a brief term at Carswell, a state "re-education center." Only a small number of the student cohort we followed wound up at Carswell. The process of getting admitted to the school is quite involved and lengthy, involving a commitment by numerous school personnel, parents or guardians of the student, and community members. The four students sent to Carswell were all boys: three blacks and one white. Following their return, it was not uncommon to hear them referred to as "Carswell students." The stigma associated with this status, although it is supposedly a place for rehabilitory therapy, is clear by the fact that certain of the teachers continue to comment that so-and-so should "never have been sent to Carswell in the first place, he didn't need to go there." Instead, these teachers attributed the problem behavior to the student's teacher at Grandin or the student's home situation. One of these students, for example, was considered a "child abuse case" because he had arrived at school with signs of physical molestation. A concerned teacher followed up on the student's apparent distress, found out the cause, and got in touch with a city social worker.

Suspected psychological problems and speech defects can be referred by a teacher to specialists who visit the school. One student, for example, was diagnosed as having severe hearing problems. The speech teacher worked with her. Another girl, Cynthia, was considered to have a very poor self-image and to be prone to seizures when she got upset. She was seen by the school counselor.

The implications of the new federal regulations on handicapped students have not been manifested to any great extent at Grandin as yet. One of the students had in the past received access to special instruction and materials on the basis of having severely impaired vision. Another was provided with books and a tutor while in the hospital.

Transportation Services

Other student classifications or groupings involve the provision of transportation services and food. The students who live close enough to the school to walk are referred to as "walkers." The majority of students ride the bus. They are referred to by the name of the neighborhood from which they come, either Maryvale or Hartwell. The bused students, who at Grandin tend to be black, have to be accommodated since many eat breakfast at the school and thus on some mornings might be late to class. Bus riders also have to be accommodated in the sense that the buses depart at a scheduled time in the afternoon. A teacher who wishes to keep a bus rider after school for any length of time is aware that a special arrangement will have to be made to get the student home. Dismissal from the classroom is often organized by the categories of transportation.

Food Programs

A final official category is that related to status as a recipient of government-subsidized lunches and breakfasts. Students whose families have an income below certain levels are eligible to receive either a free lunch or a reduced lunch. Eligibility is established through a form filled out by the parents and returned to school. (A copy of this form is provided in Appendix G.) Unlike a high school arrangement described by Collins and Noblitt (1976), free-lunch students are not separated into two lunch lines depending on their status. Instead, a system has been devised to mute the difference. Each day, students are given envelopes into which they either put money or not, depending on whether they are entitled to a free lunch. (A copy of the guidelines for "officially" preventing stigmatization as a result of receiving free lunches is also included in Appendix G.) The envelopes are collected and delivered to the office. The system is not foolproof. In some classes, the teacher asks students who are paying to come to the front of the room to turn in their money. Also, students who bring their lunches obviously are not receiving them free.

If receiving free lunches is a stigma, then we must conclude that a large majority of the students at Grandin are stigmatized since some 80% of them receive a free lunch. Whether students find this classification upsetting is not clear. Two teachers were heard to reprimand students who seemed to be "wasting food" and in both cases remarked to the researcher about the situation in the hearing of the students. One of them said, "That makes me so mad! Free lunches -- then they just waste them." Despite this enunciation of values counter to receiving free food, students were never observed to exhibit embarrassment. One student was overheard to express pleasure that the food was free. Some of the school adults suspect that the reports made by the parents are falsified in some cases so that the student will be entitled to free food. This official grouping of students for purposes of food distribution seems not to have been elaborated to any extent by the students.

THE SEMI-FORMAL SYSTEM

The formal categories which seem to distinguish students are augmented at Grandin by a further set of semi-formal categories which derive in part from the manner in which the classrooms are organized and in part from the existence of extra-curricular activities and groups which are condoned by the district, but not officially required.

These semi-formal as well as the formal categories are all a result of adult-generated categories and activities. The closest the students came to creating a semi-formal grouping occurred near the end of sixth grade. A group of about five girls formed the "Green Hornets" club. Their club can not be counted, however, as a semi-formal group since they gained little recognition among their classmates and since there was no indication that the girls would continue their club the next year, not to mention the fact of inducting students who would remain at Grandin the following year.

Homeroom Teacher

A primary semi-formal classification of students is by their homeroom or regular teacher. The student is one of Mr. King's students or Mrs. Holland's. Students, if they know another student, usually will know whose class that student is in, even when the student is not on their grade level.

There are a number of events which reinforce class membership. A sense of the class as a group is exhibited during intramurals organized by the physical education teacher along class lines. A particularly exciting day for students is "Field Day," a day sponsored by the district in which a number of contests are organized pitting one class against the other. These rites of intensification, as they are referred to by Burnett (1969), are staged only around athletic events. Although it would be possible to stage events centered around academic contests, this did not occur during the period of the study.

Other events which draw attention to the class groupings are performances and parties. One teacher's class learned square dances which were performed for the other students near the end of the school year. A play put on by one of the teachers was thought of as including mainly students of the director's class. The excluded students grumbled in private that the teacher directing the play preferred students from her own class.

Parties are usually held for the members of a class only. Comparison of the various parties underscores a sense of the class as a distinguishable group.[1]

The reputation of the homeroom teacher also sets off one class from another. Students are sympathetic or envious of what they imagine their fellow students experience in so-and-so's class.

Ability Grouping

The fifth grade teachers had not adopted the blocking plan when the students in the cohort we were following were in the 5th grade. Instead, the teachers followed a variety of within-class groupings. The two teachers of combination classes had special situations. One teacher had a homogeneous class of "good" students as an accommodation to the probelms of teaching two grade levels at the same time. The one fifth grader in that class who went out to remedial classes was odd indeed. The other combination teacher, because she had 6th graders as well, joined in the blocking arrangement on the 6th grade hall. Her 5th grade students were meshed in with the groupings of the 6th grade students.

Of the remaining three classes, one teacher grouped by ability for all subjects. The regular seating arrangement of students in the classroom reflected the ability groupings. The other two teachers formed ability groups for reading and math only. As each of these subjects was completed, students returned to their regular seats.

In the sixth grade, students in the entire grade were regrouped according to ability as determined by teacher-administered tests for math. They were again regrouped for reading. The students referred to the class by subject title, but sometimes discussed being in the "high," "intermediate," or "low" math or reading group.

In addition to these semi-formal distinctions among students according to ability, there is a further category which we will discuss here although it is more informal than semi-formal. Even with ability grouping, there are students who fall to the extreme of either the upper or the lower group. Since the school is primarily equipped to provide students with learning activities appropriate to their grade level, a student who cannot or will not enact such learning activities creates a disruption. Such students are pointed out as being unusual in that they are years behind or, in one case, years ahead of their grade level.

With mainstreaming, the teacher must somehow keep such a student busy if the student is at all prone to producing a disruption. Some of these students, it was observed, are allowed a great deal of leeway in getting back to classes and in going places in the school like to the bathroom. Furthermore, their absences are more frequent. Some of these students, the ones considered to lack the ability, account for part of the non-participation that occurs in classrooms. Some students rarely take part in classroom activities. They do not attempt to participate nor are they asked to participate. Interestingly, in some cases where it appears that they might be asked to participate, other students make excuses for them by saying that they are ill or have some other problem.

Extra-curricular Groups and Activities

There are three teacher-organized groups which the students may join: the outside patrol, the Powderpuff patrol, and chorus. Aside from these groups, there are usually one or two plays or performances each year in which not all the students participate. These groups and special activities create some distinctions among the students.

The outside patrol consists of approximately seven students who supervise street crossings for the walkers at Grandin. Students who are chosen by the directing teaching to be outside patrols are given special paraphernalia to use and are allowed to leave school early in order to get to their posts. They participate in a city-wide troop inspection and if they remain patrols for two years they may go to Washington, D.C. on a three-day field trip. Officer positions such as patrol captain are held by students as they are in the inside or Powderpuff patrol. The president and other officers of the Powderpuff, however, are elected by the members rather than chosen by the teacher as they are for the outside patrol.

The Powderpuff patrol creates one of the more important student distinctions, at least among the sixth grade female students. A "powderpuff," as students refer to members of the patrol, may not necessarily have special paraphernalia to wear since there are not enough belts to go around to the approximately 30 girls in the group, but a powderpuff is viewed as being on duty all the time. Although a powderpuff may actually be on post only a few minutes in the morning, the girl is supposed to act like a powderpuff all the time. The inside patrols are supposed to set examples for the other students and in effect act as policewomen, intervening in behavior that violates the school rules. Students were overheard to remark "powderpuff shouldn't act like that" or to threaten one another by reminding the other students of their powderpuff status. During a break one day when the teacher was out of the room, a student threatened two boys who were milling around the window by announcing to them that she was a powderpuff. Later the student told the researcher that she really was not a powderpuff. Another excerpt from the field notes gives a similar flavor.

> Jackie had blown a big bubble with her gum. Marci attempted to pop it. When she did, it fell out on the floor. Jackie assumed her powderpuff stance and told her to pick it up. Marci: "Pick it up?" Jackie: "Pick it up!" Marci hesitates. Jackie: "Pick it up or I'll report you to Mrs. Grant" (one of the powderpuff directors). Marci walks over and very stylistically picks it up and hands it to Jackie. Jackie: "Go through it out! I may report you anyway." Marci complies. Jackie (to the researcher): "That's powderpuff!"

The students who continued to serve on powderpuff without dropping out due to disagreements with the other members or the teachers in charge were taken on an all-day field trip near the end of school. The trip was to a very large amusement park -- located quite a distance from the school. According to one of the two boys who persisted on powderpuff despite derision from the other students, the prospect of the field trip was the reason for remaining on the patrol; he got to go with all those girls!

The importance attached by students, especially the girls, to the Powderpuff patrol probably derives from the fact that the girls, all of whom are 6th graders and therefore of higher status than the younger students, are given a position which allows them to enforce the rules (an attribute of being an adult at Grandin) and which singles them out from other students as having more power. The outside patrol is not as significant as a source of student distinctions since the status does not entitle the patrol to do anything inside the school and since most of the students, being bus riders, have no contact with the outside patrols.

The third extra-curricular group is "chorus." This group was one of those that performed at the Christmas PTA program. It also meets on Friday afternoons for singing. Another choral group, external to the school, also created student groupings discussed by students as did Boy Scout troops and little league football and baseball teams.

Though in theory open to all who want to join, sometimes only a subset of the students choose or are chosen to participate in the programs and performances organized for the school by a few of the teachers. When this happens, students who do participate acquire a special position since they are granted priviledges such as leaving class early and missing some of their school work. In the case of a Christmas play put on one year, the students not in the play spent time speculating on the criteria which the director used to select the students in the play (e.g., being good at their work) and complained that favoritism had been shown.

Class Jobs and Offices

Other semi-formal distinctions created by teachers involve the allocation of classroom tasks. The jobs listed by one teacher on a chart in the classroom included the following: helping hands, window manager, blackboard cleaner, plant tender, record player manager, duster, messenger, light keeper, window shade tender, art supply manager, film projector aide, eraser cleaner, bookkeeper, filmstrip projector aide, lunchroom manager, picker-upper, and PE equipment manager.

The teacher who devised the list given above tried to rotate these jobs among the students every week. As such, they did not seem to be particularly important to the students in affecting the interpersonal relations of students. In some other situations these classroom activity roles are more important.

In some classes, the students are allowed to elect class officers who have certain duties including taking over the class when the teacher is out of the room. In some cases this means leading the lesson as well as castigating rule-breakers. At least three of the teachers allowed their students to take over these teacher-like roles.

Sex

Male students are distinguished from female students on a semi-formal level. Separate lavatories are provided, the sexes are distinguished in certain aspects of physical education, and separate sex-education sessions are given to boys and girls in the fifth and sixth grade. This distinction is also elaborated more fully in the informal system.

THE INFORMAL SYSTEM

Aside from the distinctions made among students in the formal and semi-formal systems, a student is also faced by further informal categories used by teachers and by a welter of groupings and relationships generated by the students. We shall consider the additional teacher-elaborated distinctions first.

Behavior Problems

One of the main sets of informal teacher categories has to do with student's proclivities to misbehave and, for some teachers, to get into problems with other students.

Teachers expect students to know and abide by school and classroom rules. These rules provide guidelines by which the smooth operation of school activities can proceed. Rules are frequently repeated in class, and in some classes are posted on the walls. (Table 7.1 gives a list of rules from two classes.) These stated rules are obviously only a small subset of what students need to know about classroom behavior. There are many unstated rules and they, as well as the stated ones, are quite complex in that they must be followed under certain circumstances but need not be followed under others. The knowledge that

TABLE 7.1: CLASSROOM RULES

Keep hands and body to yourself.

Be positive.

Listen.

Follow directions.

Do your best.

Follow the golden rule.

Walk to all places.

Be ready to work -- on time!

Bring your pencil.

Raise hand for help.

Don't be messy.

Is your folder neat?

Is there any paper on the floor?

Have you put up the scissors and paste?

Is the mailbox neat?

Are the books neat and on the shelf?

Are the seats and tables neat?

students must have about how to behave in class involves all aspects of school life -- including routines about when and how to attract the attention of the teacher, when the teacher can be interrupted, what sorts of questions are permissible, how to show respect to the teacher in many different situations, how to head one's paper, and so forth.

For the most part, students know and follow both the stated and the unstated rules. Many infractions go unnoticed or are not considered important by teachers. Some violations irritate the teacher, provoke the teacher to punish, and in some cases confirm or disconfirm some conceptualization the teacher has of the student. A student who continually impresses the teacher as behaving inappropriately in class continually provokes the teacher to try to regulate his or her behavior. A student who cannot or will not conform eventually becomes a "behavior problem." For most teachers, behavior problems are students who disrupt the class once too often, contravening the teacher's purposes for the group.

Behavior problems are not confined to students who blatently disobey the stated rules. A student who at first glance might seem ideal, can also in fact become a behavior problem. One of the most unusual and discussed students in the school was a boy who could have passed for an adult in terms of intellectual development. His comments in class sounded more erudite than what one often hears in college classes. However, his frequent attempts to upstage classmates, and sometimes the teacher, interfered with other students' opportunities to participate and the teacher's role as director of the class. Thus, both teachers and students attempted to modify his behavior by not encouraging his discussions through praise or excessive attention. Students would frequently tell him to be quiet.

At the other extreme was a boy who was able to disrupt the class and distract the teacher by urinating in his seat. This behavior was probably the most deviant of any at Grandin. The teacher admitted to being "buffaloed" by a student who could violate such as strong norm and not be embarrassed by it. In the case of Samuel, all sorts of attempts were made to change his behavior but none seemed to work. He was sent to Carswell but did not stay. Then he was kept at home and tutored, but this arrangement proved unsuccessful as well. These attempts failed at least in part because, according to school participants, Samuel's home situation was very upsetting for him and his parents were not totally cooperative with the school's attempts to help the boy. When Samuel returned to Grandin, his new teacher tried hard to help him. Finally, like the other teachers who had had Samuel, the new teacher had to resort to letting Samuel read quietly all day which is what he seemed to want to do.

Some teachers concern themselves about an even broader area of the student's adjustment to school. Going beyond students who disrupt classroom activities, some teachers concern themselves with the social adjustment of their students. They take an active interest in trying to help students who exhibit a pattern of poor relations with other students or who seem to be following ill-selected plans. A student who finds himself or herself classified by one of these teachers as having social problems will probably be taken aside and talked with by the teacher or perhaps become the recipient of peer pressure to conform.

Sex

Among both teachers and students, the distinction of male and female students is greatly elaborated at the informal level. Interestingly, the apportioning of jobs that occurs among teachers according to sex seems to filter down to the student level as well. In setting up the decorations for the sixth grade banquet, for example, one of the male teachers and his boys moved the tables and then rearranged them after the banquet was over, while those setting the tables and decorating were primarily girls. The outside patrol for various reasons tends to be primarily males (a number of girls were selected but their parents would not give permission; one girl started but dropped out during the cold weather) while the inside patrol tends to be primarily females (the two male members were considered "crazy" by the females). The recent interest by males in the Powderpuff patrol did, however, prompt the teacher sponsors to consider changing the patrol's name next year.

In general, girls are seen as behaving differently and having different interests than boys. Some teachers feel that girls are easier to work with and discipline while others are of the opposite opinion. There is certainly attention given by male teachers to the possible misinterpretation that could be placed upon their interaction with girl students; thus, especially as the girls become more mature physically, the teachers take care to avoid behavior that could be misconstrued.

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, the distinction between boys and girls is well represented linguistically. Besides frequently used forms of address and reference which distinguish boys from girls, there are also terms used in the school which refer to girls who overstep the boundaries of their identities, incurring a label such as tomboy. Boys similarly may be labeled if they act too much like a girl. Important terms also exist that refer to cross-sex relationships. White girls, especially tend to have any relationship they have with a boy interpreted as having a romantic component. They do not have boys as friends, but rather have boyfriends.

Female-male distinctions are clearly demonstrated in student groups. Most of the informal groupings of the students are sex homogeneous. Boys are friends with boys and girls are friends with girls. A few of the informal groups were composed of both males and females, but this is the exception more than the rule.

Social Race

A more ambiguous grouping of students in the informal system is that based upon social race. Unlike sex, for which teachers and students are frequently heard to oppose boys to girls as different groups, social race is usually not cited in public as a basis for grouping.

Its importance is camoflauged by the tendency for the distinction to be used explicitly only in private. Despite this lack of public emphasis, however, social race is important. As is explored in Chapter 8, social race affects how social incidents are interpreted; it is linguistically represented by a number of categories and distinctions that ate not equally shared nor equally usuable by blacks and whites; and it figures in some important norms that affect life at Grandin.

Relationships Among Students

The system of roles, rules, and groups adhered to by students at Grandin is composed only in part by the adult-generated and honored distinctions that have been so far described. In addition, there are a number of distinctions made among students that are elaborated and maintained by the efforts of the students.

Although students and teachers spend most of their day at school in each others' presence, they confront different tasks and different social situations. It is not difficult to understand why a student might not be aware of the factors which compel the teacher's behavior and vice versa. Some teachers are perceptive of the student system while others seem to scarcely realize that it exists. Students similarly demonstrate differential awareness of the problems involved in running a classroom on a day-to-day basis. In the remainder of the chapter, we will continue to describe the groupings of students except that the groupings will be those created by the students. As with the description of the teacher's perspective, the concluding section will describe the opportunity structure associated with being a student, including the meaning that is attached to the various styles of student behavior.

The informal groupings that the student encounters are unnamed except for one, called "The Green Hornets." The five sixth grade girls who formed it tattooed "GH" on their hands with ink and stated their purpose as causing others trouble. For the most part, however, the groups of students or cliques that hung around together, interacted in class, and ate together in the lunchroom, were unnamed as groups though recognized by one another and by others as a group of friends. In trying to ask a student about these groups, one of the researchers received the paraphrase, "Oh, you mean bunches of people who go around together?"

In addition to these groups, dyads are recognized as having a special named relationship such as "friends," "best friends," "cut buddies," "cousins," "sisters," "brothers," "boyfriend," and "girlfriend." Friendship is distinguished on the basis of closeness. Tricia, for example, distinguished between "close, close friends," "OK friends," "just friends," and "so-called friends." Close friends may also refer to each other using the fictive kin tie of cousin. In addition, some of the students do have real cousins and siblings in the school. There are expectations about these relationships as well as a rule pointed out by one of the students as being official, stating that siblings cannot be in the same classroom together. Expectations associated with these relationships by some of the students (as elicited in interviews) include for friends, that friends back one another, that they talk and play together when they can, that they sit together when there is a chance, that they do not steal each other's boyfriends or girlfriends, and that they exchange food with each other and loan each other money. Some expectations attached by girls to "going with" a boy is that the boy may call on the telephone at night and give the girl presents at Christmas and on her birthday. In sixth grade, these romantic attachments are allowed more expression in that the students select dates for certain event.

One group was inadvertently created by our research activities. Students chosen for certain interviews were allowed in some cases to leave class for awhile. It soon became apparent that a number of students were interested in being in this category. A more marked grouping, however, was created by a special project in which ten students were chosen for what we referred to as "Talking Diary interviews." (See Chapter 2 for a description of these interviews.) One of the researchers visited the home of each of these students approximately once each week to interview the student on what had taken place in school during the past week. These students were sometimes picked up by the researcher at school, they were given a dollar after each interview (a real resource for the money and food exchange activity at lunch), taken on special activities such as skating or tennis, and at the end of the interviews treated to a special party at the researcher's home. All the students in the grade were allowed to make a photograph and have a copy of it each of the two years, and were treated to a skating party organized by the researchers at the end of the second year. Although the students were very excited over the photographs and the party, the students involved in the Talking Diary interviews stood out since they received even more attention. They stood out as a group, and an elite one at that.

In the student system, a broader group is persons from whom one requests materials. Students share some materials in the classroom such as paper and pencil. To some students, anyone in the class is fair game to request such materials. A more distinctive network is set up at breakfast and particularly lunch. Students exchange food depending on what they like and do not like. One person for example, may tap all his exchange partners for whatever the dessert is that day so that he ends up with five desserts. These networks can become complex, e.g., you trade your cake for x's ice cream, then trade ice cream to y for his icy. Others like certain of the main dishes which they amass. Some people buy these items from each other at the rate they are sold for in the cafeteria line, but others work mainly on a system of balanced reciprocity. Today, one gives a piece of pizza; tomorrow one may get a piece of cake. The food exchange networks that are set up include friends, but also others outside the friendship group.

Another way to acquire choice items of food, including those items sold separately such as ice cream, peanut butter candy balls, or dill pickles, is to buy it with money borrowed from someone. At the beginning of lunch, there was often a flurry of money borrowing with promises to pay tomorrow or later. The money exchange networks are smaller than the food exchange networks and probably tend to overlap more with friends. Boyfriends and girlfriends are particularly good persons to ask.

THE STUDENT OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

The student coming to Grandin, like the new teacher, is classified in the social system of the school. The student is ascribed membership in certain groups, achieves memberships in others, and perhaps generates some new groupings. A student might, for example, be assigned to a sixth grade class, Mr. Even's; be in math resource; receive free lunches; become an outside patrol; join chorus; and have a number of male friends with whom he spends time.

Again, as with the teachers, students derive rewards from their participation in these various groupings. They gain rewards from validating valued identities, from participating in various activities, and from relationships. As we shall see, whereas teachers derive most of their rewards from fulfilling their identities as teachers, from their relationships with students and colleagues, and from the wages they receive; students obtain most of their rewards from their identities in the student system and from participating in activities, especially student-organized activities.

Identity as a Student (Learner)

Students at Grandin do not spend a great deal of time talking about their general conceptualizations of themselves as learners. When they do, their distinctions and understandings tend to be those of the formal and semi-formal systems. They speak of being in the "low math" group, being good in spelling, reading beyond an eighth grade level, knowing someone who is "not able to do her work," or going to "remedial math." One EMR student spent awhile discussing his SRA scores in one of the interviews. The few terms that differ somewhat from school labels included being "the smartest" or "one of the interested ones." One white student had a conceptualization of herself as being ahead of her grade level while believing that most of the students at Grandin in the sixth grade were only now learning material that should have been learned in the fourth grade.[2]

Although most students were unlike the girl who stressed her academic prowess, there are many instances in the notes from the classroom and in the interviews where a student boasted about being praised by the teacher, getting a high grade in class, or getting more points than were required in the courses organized by individual instruction. Students also talk about what they get on their report cards, sometimes bragging about the number of "1's" ("very good") and "2's" ("satisfactory"). Students, in other words, talk frequently about their day-to-day successes, less frequently about the ability groups they are in, and infrequently about their overall evaluation of themselves as learners. In reporting their day-to-day successes, they talk in numbers rather than in terms of things learned or skills mastered. "I got a 100 on my spelling test." "I got all 1's and 2's on my report card." Only a few times did a student point out what information they had just mastered or what they had learned how to do. In talking about subjects on a more general basis, they again speak in comparative terms, measuring their own ability against the norm.

Students do at times depart from an evaluative framework to talk about their likes and dislikes. For example, some students mention liking certain subjects and even topics within those subjects. Some of the students in ET class have topiecs like UFO's or rockets about which they always want to do reports or read books.

If most students at Grandin do not have academic progress as a major component of their valued self identities, then what aspects of school life are important in this regard? The answer lies in large part in the student's image among the other students.

Identity as a Classmate (Peer)

Gordon (1957), Coleman (1965), Scrupski (1975) and others have pointed out that high school students provide for one another an important, if not the primary, social field for the demonstration of special qualities and value attributes. This is true in large part for students at Grandin as well. By fifth and sixth grades, peers are already of importance as evaluators of the child's success as a person in general, as a person of a certain sex, and as a person who is good at certain skills and styles of acting.

By fifth and sixth grades, children have a conceptualization of some of the possible identities that one might have and the relative value that is attached to these identities by people in their community, family, and circle of friends. These identities and the values attached to them, in other words, are learned.

In examining the data that we have collected on the identities of students at Grandin (see Chapter 2) we find that we will be unable to continue describing the social organization confronted by the student without references to differences among black and white students. The identities that engage the attention of or are familiar to black students tend to differ from those that engage or are familiar to white students. This difference is especially pronounced for girls.

A number of the stories that black students tell one another have to do with episodes in which they bested someone who challenged or threatened them. Many of the playful exchanges between black students have involved threats of dire consequences that are going to be inflicted if one party to the interaction does not quit "messing" with the other.

Students who consistently best others who challenge them, and thus acquire a position of importance and respect in the black student system, are referred to as "bad." Tricia uses the term in the following example:

> "I'm not trying to say I'm the baddest one but
> I'm gonna tell you something, you don't come in
> my face, you don't never come in my face."

In talking about a serious challenger, or someone who is skirting close to the edge of challenging for real, it may be said of the person that they are "acting bad." In the following, for example, Tricia uses the term in describing other students:

> "He ain't scared of nobody and he won't let
> nobody run over him ... he think he too bad
> with his overall boots on ...."
>
> "She go for bad, that's why nobody don't
> like her .... tries to make people scared
> of her ...."

For many of the black students, to be challenged by somebody who is acting bad and not be able to handle the threat is to demonstrate weakness and reveal vulnerability to exploitation. The fear of exploitation, and for some the sensitivity to insults and challenges, draws some students into a state of vigilance. Those few who might try to gain power over them through repeatedly taunting them must be guarded against. Once challenged, without successful retaliation, a person is subject to domination by the other.

The girls involved in the Green Hornets club represent a good case of this type of process. Trudy, the one white girl in the group, was inept at stopping the other four girls from systematically excluding her on a periodic basis. Although she adopted many of the mannerisms and styles of the girls and joked in the same style about the same things they did, such as who she was going to beat up the last day of school, Trudy was unable to prevent the other girls from continually hurting her feelings by ostracizing her. They would all hang around together for weeks, then Trudy would appear alone or with Francis, another white student who normally had no companions. Trudy would sorrowfully report that the girls had told her they did not want her as a friend any longer. Then a reconciliation would occur and the whole process would begin again. In talking about the formation of the Green Hornets she described it to one of the researchers as an invention she had come up with to prevent the girls from mistreating her. She felt that the club would provide strong bonds that would not be so easily broken.

The importance of being able to protect oneself against others comes out in the data. For some students, this means being able to defend oneself physically. Others are able to counter challenges by a sufficient verbal demonstration of fearlessness and intention to stand firm. A person has to at least seem that he is willing to stick up for himself. A person cannot permit someone to mess with her too much. A weak person invites exploitation.

The value placed upon being able to defend oneself does not mean that the strongest person is the most appreciated, especially if the person exploits his or her strength by bossing people around. One black girl who was not well-liked supposedly kept a group of friends in line by bullying them and then acting very friendly to them when they finally got angry enough to desert the group. In the sixth grade, she was finally ostracized by her group of friends. (Her friends asked their teacher to break the news since they did not want to do it. Finally, according to one of the girls, another teacher gave her the message.) Others said of her:

> "She mean. She don't know how to act nice ... always talking bad to people. She acts like a bully, always trying to start things and picking at people."
>
> "She always running her mouth, you hear her mouth all over the bus .... Her lips look like King Kong ... always running her mouth ... loves to start fights."

The identity of being able to stand up for oneself is important in understanding the dynamic that occurs in the relationship of black and white students. While only some of the more outspoken black students play at and actually demonstrate this challenging behavior, other blacks appear to know that they must demonstrate their ability to hold their own, if they are challenged, so as to prevent being categorized as weak and being made the butt of further taunts. In contrast, white girls do not seem to know how to appropriately handle these challenges.

White girls cultivate the ability to ward off challengers primarily through verbal appeals to school authorities and rules. Challenges which take physical forms, such as pushing and shoving, are especially frightening to them. If pushed they quickly resort to threats to tell the teacher. Although this strategy is accepted by many whites, it is taken as a sign of weakness by some of the black students, and as such invites continued challenges. Another ploy often used by white girls is to admit vulnerability. Instead of stressing strength and ability to defend oneself down to the point of a verbal argument or physical fight, the white girls often fall back upon admitting vulnerability. One white girl, for example, when insulted, tried to ward off the attack by saying that she was "a tenderskin" and easily hurt. This response does not work.

Martha, another white, developed an approach to her own school identity after being ostracized by her class. This identity would similarly be unworkable with black challengers. Her idea was expressed in the phrase, "The quietest is the strongest." Among white students in the school, especially for Tracy (the girl who referred to herself as a tenderskin), either of these strategies would have some chance of working since admitting to having hurt feelings can cause the challenger to feel guilty. With the black students who tease these girls, these strategies simply indicate vulnerabibility and invite exploitation.

In contrast, a highly valued identity among white girls is to be thought of as "sweet and nice." Positive remarks about other girls include these terms. They mean that the girl does not act stuck-up, does not over-evaluate her assets, and does not flaunt her attractive features in front of her friends. As such, this identity devalues any act which draws attention to someone's power or superiority over others. These girls sometimes criticize others by saying things like, "She thinks she's something.";"She things she's the prettiest girl in the room, but she's really ugly."; or "She's so stuck on herself." Jackie, in criticizing Kenny's choice of Marilyn, one of the more popular white girls, as a date for the banquet, said the following:

> "Why don't you take Gail? Why not? Don't take Marilyn -- she's nothing but stuck up."

Thus, knowing how to act "sweet and nice" does not mesh too well with knowing how to stand up for oneself and fend off would-be exploiters. Neither identity makes sense in terms of the other and demonstration of either one is likely to encourage criticism by members of the opposite group. Since the white identity dictates that criticisms be made in private while maintenance of the black identity depends on public confrontation, handling insults from blacks is more of a problem for white girls than vice versa.

The total lack of knowledge in how to handle these challenges is evident in watching responses of some of the white girls. Avoidance is one method; total non-response another. One student did neither of these but instead responded to challenges with aggression. Her belligerence was appropriate as a possible black style for sticking up for oneself except that she could not distinguish a joking challenge from a serious one. In fact, she tended to interpret almost any behavior from another student as a challenge. The following incident was of this type:

> Marie (black) has just expressed surprise at my lack of knowledge about the rules for jackrocks. She looks to Martha (white) for confirmation (that I am only pretending not to know how to play) and taps her on the arm in an inclusionary gesture against me. Martha takes it negatively and slaps back at her. They exchange slaps. Martha says: "I don't play that way!"

Even Trudy, the white girl in the Green Hornets club, could not handle the girls in the group even though she had acquired facility with other aspects of black style. Her solution to the problem was an ingeneous effort to by-pass the fact that she was unable to control the others as they could her.

Black students also associate admissions of vulnerability with immaturity. Tracy's fellow students retorted to her admission of being hurt that she acted just like a baby. A person who resorts to crying in a situation where he has been challenged or punished is similarly indicating immaturity -- being a crybaby.[3]

A more sophisticated but related definition of immaturity came from a black girl who talked about Edward, one of the white boys, as "showing all." In explaining this statement, she said:

> "He show all his action, he don't leave none of it inside like I would ... He shows all his action, I don't."

Revealing one's true emotions, in other words, is not appropriate. One has to put on "masks." Again to quote the same girl:

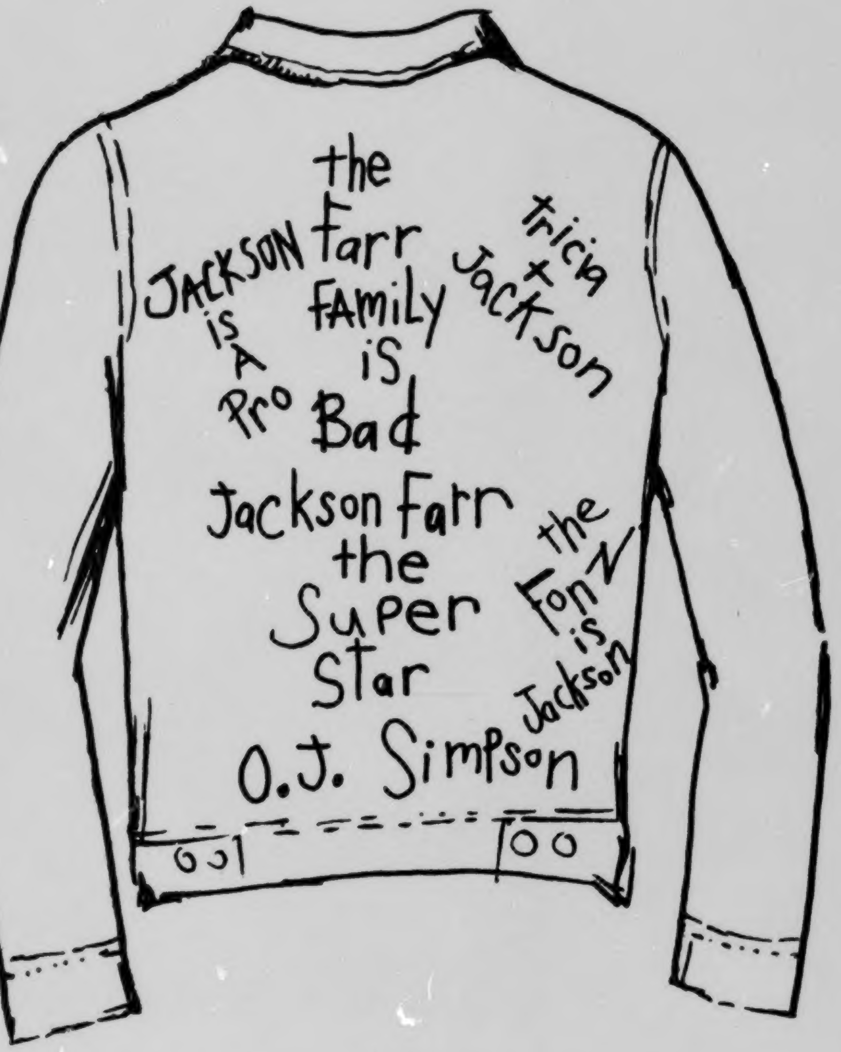
> "You have this mask: That one's the nice, that one's the mean, this one the shy, this one the pretty one ... you have to pick up all those faces in the morning. I have two, because when I first meet you I could have on the nice one; when I meet you again I just have on the old mean one."

Part of maturity for black students includes knowing how to conduct oneself in certain situations and having at least a minimal control over school rules, knowledge of appropriate speech, and acquired skills like dancing or the sports in which one participates. For whites, this is so as well, but the definitions of appropriate behavior are different for activities such as dancing and sports.

Black and white students are also similar in that they pride themselves in particular skills at which they not only have acquired minimal control, but in fact excel. Students, especially boys both black and white, talk about being good in sports, about being good at drawing or art, and praise one another for such skills.

One type of popular boy for the black students is different from that for white students. For one thing, black students seem to be appreciative of their fellows who are impressive in the way they act and dress in general. "Profiling" or drawing attention to one's impressive appearance (although the term implies being a little too obvious about it) conveys the sense of performance that is involved. At Grandin, characters from the television show Happy Days were imitated and their names used as labels to refer to each other's styles. The Fonz and Cunningham are both characters whose names are used in this fashion. (See Figure 7.1.)

FIGURE 7.1: THE BACK OF JACKSON'S JACKET


the Farr FAMILY is Bad
JACKSON is A Pro
tricia + Jackson
Jackson Farr the Super Star
the Fonz is Jackson
O.J. Simpson

The closest to the performer on the white side is the emphasis among the white males on having fun or being fun-loving. Telling jokes or playing tricks are aspects of this clowning. Jimmy, for example, talks of placing "kick me" signs on other student's backs and described an activity that he and a friend would engage in:

> "Each of us takes a toothpick from our pockets and glue two pieced of paper on each side, you know like a picket sign? And boys with thick afros we'll write 'Keep off the grass' on it. And we'll stick it in their hair and it'd be big enough to read."

Otherwise, the valued identities among both black and white boys seem to be to demonstrate leadership and abilities in sports. For a very few, intelligence as validated by school marks and acclaim is also important. This academic identity is highly valued among a few girls as well. For these few students, academic success is demonstration of a specialness that entitles one to view one's self as better than and apart from others.

On one final dimension of valued identity, whites and blacks also diverge to some extent. This dimension has to do with identity in relation to the opposite sex. At Grandin, demonstration of romantic attachments to members of the opposite sex seems to be somewhat more important to whites than to blacks. In one episode, Jimmy, a white boy, was accused of and accepted the attribution that he was a girl chaser. Bob, another white boy, justified his anomalous position on the Powder-puff patrol by pointing out that he was going to get to go on the trip to the amusement park with all those girls. Many of the white sixth grade girls spent months prior to the banquet discussing what boy they would like or not like to go with.

For blacks, while it was certainly appropriate to be interested in the opposite sex and dates for the banquet were a frequent topic of conversation, boy-girl relationships did not seem as dominant an aspect of one's overall school identity, nor were cross-sex relationships necessarily set apart by a markedly different style of behavior from everyday same-sex relationships. For example, the black girls and boys often compete verbally and physically with each other in a similar style, although maybe not as frequently, to that used in same-sex encounters. For white girls, on the other hand, while they may sometimes behave aggressively with other white or black girls, they have learned that this style does not get them very far with white boys. Jackie, for example, was determined to get Bob to take her to the banquet. She frequently called him at night, arranged to run into him in the hall and sent notes to him via her friends. Bob was not particularly responsive to these overtures. Finally, in desperation when he appeared on the verge of asking someone else, Jackie discussed asking him to take her. One friend, Sally, suggested that Jackie had been too pushy and as a result, Bob did not like her any more though he had at one time. Sally suggested that the way to catch a boy was to let him think that you were shy. She pointed out that all the white sixth grade girls who had steady boyfriends at Grandin appeared to be very shy at school. In other words, a vulnerable identity on the part of white girls appears to be rewarded by the attention of the white boys. Similarly, vulnerable white girls may attract the attention of black boys. On several occasions, black boys attempted to protect white girls who appeared particularly defenseless from the insults of others. The following is an example:

> The class is watching a film about the Eskimo. The film shows them eating raw fish. Marlys hides her eyes. Melvin pats Marlys on the back. Marlys revives slightly. Melvin keeps on talking to her. Melvin takes Marlys' hand and holds it. He says, "Let's see how strong you are at arm wrestling." Marlys' arm goes limp (she is still hiding her eyes from the film). Melvin continues to hold her hand. Then Melvin lets go. Marlys holds out her hand (as if to get Melvin to give her five). Melvin looks at her hand, smiles and slaps it. Marlys smiles and turns back to the film. Several seconds later, Marlys reaches over and puts her hand on Melvin's arm. He doesn't notice at first, then asks: "What's your hand on me for? Did you get scared? It'll be OK." About this time the film ends.

Though Melvin and probably other black boys would have offered other white girls in this situation some consolation, it is doubtful that many girls at Grandin would have accepted it in the same unabashed way that Marlys did.

For black girls, in contrast, vulnerability and shyness does not seem to be a prevalent style for interacting with males. Instead, knowing how to interpret and respond to the boy's moods or actions and maintaining an image of one's ability to handle oneself seems more important. In contrast to the black girls mentioned above, many of whom disdain acting weak, the black boys may believe that the "vulnerable" style of behavior is appropriate for white girls.

Girls also have as part of their identity a pride in their position on sexual involvement. Ruth, for example, pointed out what she evidently thought was a strange stance relative to sex:

> "I like boys, but I don't like to go with anybody. Most girls are crazy about boys, they hate their brothers and everything. But I'm a little on the funny side, I like my brother and I like this boy who lives near me. I like to play with him but I don't like to do anything with him. You know, a lot of girls have their boyfriends and they sort of like spread rumors about each others." Researcher: "You mean like 'I kissed her?'" Ruth: "Yeah, I don't want to get involved to the point that I participate in that kind of thing."

There are not enough data, however, to determine differences in these identities concerning sexual activity.

Relationships With Peers

Besides validation of these identities, peers also figure importantly in other rewards that students derive from school. Many of the activities which students organize and which allow them to demonstrate their identities can be done only with friends. Without friends or willing classmates,[4] one has only teacher-organized activities to look forward to. Friends and classmates are the people with whom one spends time at school, sharing experiences and playing.

Friends also come to one's support in a fight. Edward, a (short) white boy who became incorporated into a group of black boys after he made friends with Joseph through the Talking Diary project, describes an agreement wherein the three boys would parcel out aggressors in terms of size. He described the arrangement as follows:

> "Like if a big boy comes messing with me, Vernon'll take him, but if a little shrimp-o comes messing with Vernon, I take care of 'em. If one a little taller comes messing with me, Joseph takes care of 'em ... cause if Vernon was getting in a fight with somebody a little taller than me, Vernon'd half-way kill them. But if I get in a fight with 'em, all I'm gonna do is knock 'em in the face and tell 'em to get outta me and they gonna do it and go on. ... if they don't, they still gonna get some more."

Enjoyable Activities

There are a number of activities that occur at school and on the bus that students seem to particularly enjoy no matter what identities they value. Many of these are student-organized activities such as talking and joking. Others involve teacher-organized activities such as running equipment or leading the class. Students seemed to really enjoy being left in charge of the class. A couple of the teachers allowed students to direct the lesson, taking the teacher's role of preparing and asking questions on the homework. Physical education periods are looked forward to, as are parties and special events such as the banquet which combine a number of preferred activities such as dancing, showing off one's clothes, eating, and demonstrating style and skill.

In general, it might be said that students like contests -- no matter what they are about; they like to see performances (as in films or teachers telling stories), or, for some, to be engaged in reading a story; and they like to put on performances. They also like situations in which they can get together with their friends.

Relationships With Teachers

From their relationships with teachers, students derive validation of their identities as learners. Sincere praise or reward from a teacher is valued. Acceptance by a teacher who is liked by other students is also a positive reward that can be obtained from the teacher-student relationship. Some students seem to seek the teacher's recognition over that of other students.

Teachers also represent the source of many more tangible rewards in the classroom. The teacher allows or disallows preferred activities. The teacher may organize activities that the students particularly want or like.

Teachers also regulate, through their control over the activities in the classroom and through their distribution of activity roles (e.g., class monitor or director of morning devotions), some of the students' opportunities to demonstrate their special skills and abilities. Teacher's control over opportunities to demonstrate valued identities is especially true in the case of academic performance. One student was very angry at a fifth grade teacher, for example, for not allowing her to talk about something she felt she knew a lot about:

> "My teacher found out that I knew a lot about it, and she wouldn't let me join in with anything on that; she wouldn't let me join in on the conversations or anything. It was sort of disgusting; I knew more about it than anybody in the classroom, I know, I'm positive of that, but she wouldn't let me join in and talk about it. She made me just sit out in the hall and do something else. I guess maybe she didn't want the other children to feel that they didn't know as much but that's not a very good thing to do.

CONCLUSIONS

A consideration of the student system at Grandin takes us in two directions. In the first place, we see that many of the students seem to be involved in identities and relationships which have very little to do with their classroom activities. Because of the significance of this informal system to students, the differences (and the implications of the differences) that are apparent between whites and blacks in valued identities constitute important findings. Secondly, we have found that the conceptualizations that students have of themselves as learners are derived almost totally from the distinctions and understandings that are operant in the formal and semi-formal system of the school. The changes in organization of the school with respect to ability grouping provide some opportunity to compare the apparent effect of three reorganizations upon the student's conceptualizations. This point is discussed first.

Ability Grouping and Learner Identities

A familiar argument about American schools is that they act as a set of conveyor belts, sorting students and supporting their passage to different stations in life (e.g., Leacock 1969; Ogbu 1974; Gintis and Bowles 1976). This sorting function, it is argued, becomes visible quite early in a student's school career through tracking. Johnson (1976) reports in his ethnographic study of a Northern rural elementary school that the tracking of students into slow, average, and fast learner groups is clearly visible and recognized by the students by the time they are in the fourth grade. Rist (1973), in an ethnographic study of a St. Louis school, found that the initial sorting of students and subsequent training of them for their relative status in the ranked ability group was visible by the 8th day of kindergarten.

As described above, over the past three years Grandin has tried three different organizational styles with respect to ability grouping. In 1974-1975, there was a self-contained ET class in the school. In the following year, the self-contained classes were abolished in favor of mainstreaming. That year teachers adopted a range of practices: within-class ability groups for the entire day, some grouping within the class according to ability for reading and math only, and "blocking" or combined between-class groups for reading and math. The third year, all the teachers practiced blocking for reading and math. This practice served to further mute the distinctiveness of the ET and EMR programs and the remedial math and reading program, since all students changed classes during those periods. Furthermore, the ET teacher had to include reading in the content of her course since the students in ET were not otherwise getting instruction in reading. Some of the students in that course considered it their reading class.

According to descriptions of the situation which existed when ET was self-contained, there were some antagonisms that developed between members of the ET class and other students at Grandin. The separation of the ET students from the others may well have fostered a sense of elitism. During the initial period of the research, two of the sixth grade students who had been in the self-contained ET class offered their services to us as informants. They identified themselves as students of the ET teacher even though they had a regular teacher with whom they spent most of the day. They also pointed out that they, unlike the other students, were "interested in learning about things."

In the 1975-1976 school year when mainstreaming went into effect, only one fifth grade teacher grouped students by ability throughout the day. In this class, the groupings appeared to coincide with the friendships that later developed among the students. Otherwise, the grouping for reading and the re-grouping for math, the resourcing, and the blocking in sixth grade did not seem to have the same impact.

Students certainly have an awareness of the meaning attached to ET, EMR, the remedial classes, and the block classes, even though this is usually not reflected in the labels used to refer to these classes. Some students, for example, when asked about Mrs. Dane's students, indicated that an EMR student has what in Goffman's terms would be called a "spoiled identity." An EMR student was seen as lacking normal abilities to learn. Other students showed us how to read the skill level coded onto the different reading books that were used in the block classes. Some students, wanting to get into one of the resource classes because they liked the teacher, asked the purpose of the class. When they learned it was for those who were a little behind in math, they lost interest. The meaning of the entire combination of classes, however, may be less clear than that of the past system with self-contained classes. The fragmentation promoted by the blocking approach, resourcing, and mainstreaming appears to have given students a more complex classification system with a more ambiguous overall meaning. One might be good in math but not so good in reading. One student demonstrated this very clearly in an "academic baseball" game staged in his classroom. In this game, the pitcher (the teacher) throws questions at the batter who, if he answers correctly, scores a point for his team. If he misses the question, then his team is given an out. Jackson, a student in a high math but remedial reading group, was up to bat. He begged to be given a math question rather than some other question, saying that he was better in math. One wonders if he would have conceptualized himself as better in math if he had been in a self-contained classroom tracked by an assessment of his over-all ability. In other words, the practices at Grandin during the last two years seem to have stimulated students to think of their abilities as differentiated according to subject. Such a classification system differs markedly from thinking of oneself as being in the high group or the low group.[5]

Cultural Differences in Student Valued Identities

One of the most striking aspects of the data described in this chapter is the amount of variation that exists between black and white students in valued and familiar identities. In terms of identities that are promulgated by the formal and semi-formal system in the school, black and white students are similar. In the valued identities that are important in the informal student system, however, the valued identities with which black students are familiar differ in some respects from the valued identities with which white students are familiar. Furthermore, the differences are misleading. To the white students, some of the black identities do not make sense while to some of the black students, white identities, especially those of the girls, are associated with devalued black identities.

In the following chapters we shall see that these differences among black and white students are intertwined with the problems that students encounter in forming cross-color friendships and with the restricted amount of inter-ethnic peer socialization occurring in the school.

CHAPTER 8: POLITE COOPERATION: THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL-RACE RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL

In the preceding chapters in this section, we have provided a framework for understanding the social organization of school life at Grandin. We have described opportunities for participation in the Grandin school system as they are shaped by the formally, semi-formally, and informally organized groups and activities from which various kinds of rewards can be obtained. It has been further suggested that blacks and whites do not participate equally in groups and activities at Grandin. Our concern in this chapter is the extent to which teacher and student participation in these systems is differentially associated with social race; the manner in which social race and social-race relations are interpreted; and the way in which problems related to social race are handled in the school.

DIFFERENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE SYSTEM: PATTERNS OF INFORMAL SEGREGATION

Participation of Black and White Teachers

As described in Chapter 4, faculty desegregation was mandated in 1970. At that time, several black teachers came to Grandin. Since then the school district has been observing a policy of establishing teacher ratios in each school equal to the ratio of black to white teachers in the school district as a whole. Therefore, while placement by area of teaching expertise is important in hiring teachers and making school assignments, social race is also a relevant factor. As a result, the percentage of black teachers at Grandin has increased from the proportion transferred in 1970. The distribution of black and white teachers at Grandin during the 1975-76 and 1976-77 school years is shown in Table 4.2 of Chapter 4.

This formally-mandated balance of black and white teachers is not replicated in participation in informal groups or activities at the school. In fact, as has already been suggested in Chapter 6, some informal groups of teachers are identifiable by social race.

For the most part, all teachers interact with each other regarding school procedures and activities. On matters of scheduling, testing, and supervising of students, conversations among teachers occur freely. Such conversations are usually short, to-the point, and infrequent due to the uniformity of procedures from year to year. Teachers also make requests of other teachers such as to allow students to run errands, help out on special projects, or participate in preparation for special programs. Generally these requests are honored, though the relationship between teachers can become strained when requests by one teacher for use of another's students involve extended periods of time such as when students must practice for long periods to be ready to perform a play or when activities of one teacher interrupt those of another. Disagreements over these activities do not seem to occur along social-race lines, as a general rule.

Teachers also interact about ways to facilitate their jobs as teachers, but these interactions usually occur within the informal groups already described, such as the sixth grade teachers. They may, for example, decide to group students by ability in order to improve the teaching situation or agree to watch another's students at PE one day in exchange for a reciprocal action later on. Teachers in these informal groups, not all of which have cross-color membership, come together repeatedly over similar school concerns, such as what to do about a student who has problems at home or who is not working up to his or her potential. These teachers often speak favorably of each other and may frequently interact, exchanging ideas about disciplining, course materials, or strategies for dealing with special or unusual students.

Even for cross-color bonds in these groups, while it may be incorrect to say, from the point of view of these teachers, that these relationships are not based on friendship, they rarely seem to encompass the exchange of information about more than school-related matters. Groups of teachers who are frequently found talking about their families, friends, or non-school activities to each other in the hall, in the teachers' lounge, or in each other's rooms after school are almost always segregated by social race. Teachers at faculty meetings, at PTA meetings, and at staff gatherings which take place outside of school almost always sit together by social race. While there are a few teachers who are regular exceptions to this pattern, the fact that they recognize the existence of the informal practices of black-white segregation was made clear when one of them notified a researcher to be sure and observe how, on an occasion when the whole faculty went out to eat, all the blacks left in one car and all the whites in another.

A similar point was made by a white teacher who mentioned the unlikely possibility that cross-color social interaction among teachers would occur outside school.

> "... I don't want to be black. I don't want to know things only blacks are interested in. Where I used to teach, I had a good friend who was black. I'd invite her to do things outside school and she'd invite me, but we never really had anything in common socially."

Thus, it appears that teachers interact openly with each other over general procedural matters related to schooling but are more frequently found involved in school activities with other teachers belonging to the same informal group. In some cases, these groups are color-homogeneous. In the even more restricted occasions where interaction concerns personal information, gossip, or just talk, teachers generally segregate themselves by social race.

Participation of Black and White Students

By law, Grandin students are grouped into their regular classes based on the ratio of black to white students in the school. Therefore, all grade-level classes contain approximately two-thirds black students and one-third white students. Normally, about half of each group are females and half are males. With few exceptions, such as the resource classes which meet for no more than one and a quarter hours per day, formal groupings of Grandin students reflect this 2:1 ratio. In resource classes, standardized test scores, teacher recommendations, and parental permission are the primary factors affecting placement. Although racial imbalance is officially permitted in these classes, there is concern about the social-race composition of the class as evidenced by the explicit guidelines for inclusion in these classes and by statements from resource teachers. The concern, however, has not yet resulted in classes that are non-identifiable by social race. Table 8.1 shows the distribution of black and white students in resource classes during the two years of our study. These figures show that white students, who constituted approximately one-third of the student body, are over-represented in ET and somewhat under-represented in the remedial and EMR classes. The discrepancy in the remedial classes was much reduced the second year.

TABLE 8.1: COLOR COMPOSITION AND RESOURCE CLASS PARTICIPATION

1975-76 FIFTH GRADERS

	ET*	RM**	RR***	EMR****	Total in RM, RR, or EMR±
Black	8 (35%)	20 (87%)	20 (80%)	11 (85%)	35 (81%)
White	15 (65%)	3 (13%)	5 (20%)	2 (15%)	8 (19%)

1976-77 SIXTH GRADERS

	ET	RM	RR	EMR	Total in RM, RR, or EMR
Black	7 (37%)	13 (77%)	19 (68%)	7 (70%)	34 (72%)
White	12 (63%)	5 (28%)	9 (32%)	3 (30%)	13 (28%)

* Exceptionally Talented
** Remedial Math
*** Remedial Reading
**** Educably Mentally Retarded
± Some students participated in more than one resource class. In 1975, for example, 14 students were in two while 2 students were in three.

As has also been discussed earlier, permanent ability grouping within a class occurred in only one classroom although other teachers grouped students semi-formally for particular subjects. Like the resource classes, these semi-formal groupings lasted only for restricted periods during the day. Paralleling the distribution of blacks and whites in ET versus other resource classes, it was common to have more whites, proportional to their number in the school, in the higher groups with blacks disproportionally represented in the lower ones.

Due to the scarcity of information on actual interaction patterns of black and white students in desegregated schools (Clement, Eisenhart, and Wood 1976), we attempted to systematically sample teacher-student and student-student interactions at Grandin. In order to do this, we selected a focal group of 25 students whom we regularly observed for a specified length of time. (Details on this methodology are provided in Chapter 2.) The running descriptions obtained from these observations of teachers interacting with focal students and focal students with other students were then coded according to various features of the interactions such as the number of interactions, who initiated the exchange, address forms used, body positioning, type of activity involved, type of inducement used to encourage interaction, and responses to that inducement (see Appendix B for an explanation of these categories).

Following Talbert (1970), we were interested in the number of response opportunities made available to students by their teachers. Talbert found that students regarded by the teacher as marginal to the class because they did not act in the fashion she thought acceptable, were given little chance to display the information to which they had been exposed because the teacher so infrequently called on them to participate in classes activities. Following Talbert's lead, we sampled teacher-student interactions for the group of focal students during the two-year period of the study. While there are certainly teacher differences in both rates of interaction with students and the character of those interactions, we found no consistent pattern corresponding to social race. It does appear that core and peripheral groups become established in some classrooms, but these are not necessarily distinguishable by social-race composition. Similarly, in almost all of the classes teacher assignments of students to special jobs or duties or status do not appear to be biased by social race.

For these class groups, there are times when students have some freedom in deciding with whom they will sit, talk, or play. It is at this point, where the informal system comes into play we have argued earlier, that the pattern of informal segregation by social race should begin to reveal itself.[1] This is in fact the case.

With few exceptions, students, when free to do so, sit with others of the same social-race group. This pattern is apparent in classes or during special activities where students can choose their own seats, during free time when students congregate to play games, and at breakfast and lunch tables.[2]

Where student participation in special activities is voluntary, the activities are sometimes dominated by one social-race group. For example, it is mainly the black students who participate in the Friday afternoon dancing while many of the white students joined the student chorus which practiced at the same time. Similarly, whites constitute the majority in the outside safety patrol (here sex segregation is also evident). These patterns arise through student choice and in some cases due to differential ability to participate. Students who ride the bus, for example, are unable to go on post at the appropriate time. Black students, most of whom do not walk to school, must find a ride to school every day if they are to serve as patrols.

A similar pattern sometimes appears when students are allowed to chose an activity for the class. For example, when certain activities are chosen for PE, such as kickball or softball, a number of whites may not participate. There are fewer white than black students who are relatively good at these games. Often a number of whites, because of their lower level of skill or perhaps because, as some of them say, they do not feel confident, retreat to the sidelines to watch or to talk among themselves.

Student friendship groups are similarly segregated by social race. While there are a few students who consistently interact with cross-color peers, they are clearly in the minority. Those that try to establish such relationships often have difficulty becoming accepted by members of the opposite group (for more on cross-color friendships, see Chapters 6 and 10). Systematic observations done in the regular resource and special-subject classrooms, at meals, and on the playground reveal that although students often interact with students of the other group, they spend most of their time interacting with members of their own social-race group. Other observations in the halls while students were changing classes, on field trips, and during assemblies and meetings confirm this tendency. "Friendship" interviews, where students were asked to name people in their class and then describe them, provide additional evidence. Although cross-color classmates might be characterized as "nice" or "always smiling," the category "friend" is usually applied only to members of the same social-race group.

The sociometric interviews provide still another source of information on this trend. Table 8.2 shows the tendency for students to choose same-sex and same-social-race work partners and desired classmates.

In brief then, social-race identity, despite official attempts to the contrary, is an important differentiator among teachers and students in the context of the informal system at Grandin. In spite of official concern over percentages of blacks and whites in schools and classrooms and the subsequent effects on the formal system, a tendency to informal segregation is found at Grandin. Within the informal system, voluntary separation into groups by social race is a recognizable pattern.

These patterns of informal segregation have been found in other schools as well as Grandin (Kimball and Wagley 1974, Anderson 1977, Collins 1977b, Slawski and Scherer 1977). Although these patterns were not anticipated by reformers advocating school desegregation (Clement, Eisenhart, and Wood 1976), by now, perhaps they seem familiar. Their explanation, however, is not self-evident. There is no officially-sanctioned separation of black and white

TABLE 8.2: CHOICE STATUS (CS)* BY SOCIAL RACE AND SEX

AVERAGE CHOICE STATUS OF	AMONG	Within-Class As Work-Partners (# of choices unlimited)		Within-Grade As Desired Classmate (# of choices = 5)	
		1976	1977	1976	1977
Black Females	CLASS/GRADE	.290	.354	.031	.039
	Black Females	.485	.613	.077	.097
	Black Males	.164	.190	.012	.017
	White Females	.348	.391	.016	.016
	White Males	.146	.158	.003	.000
Black Males	CLASS/GRADE	.314	.345	.030	.039
	Black Females	.212	.280	.035	.021
	Black Males	.409	.514	.051	.078
	White Females	.190	.145	.013	.011
	White Males	.427	.337	.025	.019
White Females	CLASS/GRADE	.203	.308	.028	.040
	Black Females	.232	.341	.006	.027
	Black Males	.095	.201	.001	.002
	White Females	.440	.482	.132	.137
	White Males	.146	.255	.018	.027
White Males	CLASS/GRADE	.375	.180	.035	.037
	Black Females	.215	.041	.012	.003
	Black Males	.385	.242	.038	.042
	White Females	.411	.164	.021	.040
	White Males	.629	.366	.090	.107

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*CS = Number of times student "i" was selected, divided by the number of students who could have selected student "i."

students; any obvious action of teachers or the principal to segregate students would meet with rebuke, especially since the pro-integration forces have gained more power in the Bradford school system; and the elementary school students have not fully acquired adult patterns of social-race identity and relationships. In spite of these forces to the contrary, patterns of informal segregation emerge. As we shall also see in a later section, informal segregation somewhat puzzles school participants as well since it reveals a certain shallowness in the degree of harmony that has been achieved in the school and points up the discrepancy between 1) the affect associated with terms and concepts of social race and social-race relations and 2) the norms for and the image of social-race relations that school participants attempt to convey. These discrepancies will become clearer as we review first the concepts of social race and social-race relations and, then, the norms for interaction.

SEPARATING WORDS -- SOCIAL-RACE TERMINOLOGY AT GRANDIN

> The class is staging a talent show. Two black boys have chosen to provide the commercials for the show. One boy stands in front of the class, holding a paper cut-out of the bottom of a shoe. The other boy pretends to be filming the first. The boy with the cut-out begins, "Black sole ... guaranteed to make the run to Africa!" The whole class laughs hard. The boy puts down the cut-out and picks up a jar. He continues, "Knotty Sheen ... guaranteed to make your hair un-nice, full of dandruff, and you won't have to worry about ugly girls." The class and their teacher break up in laughter again.

This section briefly reports the use of linguistic labels which have to do with social race. These labels provide one point of access to the meanings and feelings that are attached to social race at Grandin. As we shall see, the excerpt cited above represents one of the few times that the researchers heard words which play on social-race identity used and accepted in jest in what was a mixed and public activity at Grandin. (For more detail, see Clement, et al. 1978 or Eisenhart and Harding 1977.)

Frequency

Our observations in the school and the reports we have obtained from school adults suggest that the use of social-race terms is infrequent relative to the use of other terms like "boy," "girl," "teacher," and "child" for labeling or typing of people. In the more than 1000 hours of observation in the school, we have barely 100 examples of the spontaneous use of social-race terms.[3]

Group-Identity Labels

"Black" and "white" are by far the most frequently used social-race terms. In considering these terms, it appears that they are generally used to mean more than just physical distinctions. They are used as group labels. One teacher, during a social studies class, clearly expressed the idea that there is more to the terms "black" and "white" than skin color alone. In response to a student's question about what you would call a person whose parents are mixed, this teacher replied,

> "I don't know, I guess it depends on what culture you go with. If a Negro and white marry and the children stay with the black culture, then they'd be black. If Chinese and white, then they'd probably go by white unless they went to China."

In spontaneous cross-color references, "black" and "white" may be used either derogatorily or neutrally. The elicitation interviews produced only negatively loaded cross-color terms. These terms include "white cracker," "soda cracker," "honky," and "white honky" which are negative terms said to be used by blacks in referring to whites; and such negative terms as "nigger," "black tar," and "ace of spades" reportedly used by whites to refer to blacks. At least in public, knowledge of these more derogatory cross-color terms is not revealed by either black or white students -- except for occasional instances of lashing out in anger.

Blacks also have a variety of group labels which are used in talking about other blacks. Black self-reference labels, which come both from observations and elicitations, include "nigger," "slave," "colored," "New Jersey African," "tar baby," and "knottyhead." Blacks can use these group labels without implying a negative evaluation.

Whites do not have a variety of group labels for their own group. Rarely do they use even the label "white," that category being more often implied by use of the pronoun "us."

Physical-Typing Labels

Physical-typing labels, regardless of their context or manipulative function, were found to be used almost exclusively by black students. Black students have a relatively elaborate terminology for differentiating each other on the basis of physical characteristics. "Yellow," as in "yellow muther," "yellow boy," "yellow Indian;" "red;" "light-skinned," "dark-skinned," "dark complexion," and "chocolate" are examples of terms used by blacks in reference to differentiations among other blacks according to phenotypic features.

As in the case of group-identity labels, white students do not seem to have developed any comparable terminology based on skin color for intra-group physical-type reference and do not use the blacks' self-reference terminology to refer to or address blacks. To our knowledge, blacks and whites only occasionally use terms such as "blond" which distinguish whites from one another according to physical type.

The evaluative loading of physical-typing terminology tends to vary depending on the context. The terms can be used in a neutral fashion to ask about or designate a person from among others or to describe someone not present at the time. On some occasions, physical typing by blacks carries a more loaded meaning. Features approaching white characteristics, for example, can be used as a target for taunting or teasing. Three black students in particular -- one light skinned, one very dark skinned, and one with red hair were constantly taunted, on the basis of physical features, by their classmates.

CONTEXT OF USE FOR SOCIAL-RACE TERMS

In formal situations, students appeared to follow their teachers with regard to social-race usage. As fifth graders, the students used social-race terms only after their introduction by the teacher (or, in one case, by a particularly precocious white child) of a subject with a clear focus on race, such as slavery or racial stocks. Even then, the terms were always used in an explanatory fashion, usually relating to the past. When researchers asked some of the fifth graders to describe other children in the class, social-race terms were almost never used.

Like their teachers, the sixth graders appeared to use social-race terms in class more than when they were in the fifth grade, especially in giving explanations during social studies periods. In a few cases, children also used social-race identity as a way to explain the present-day behavior of social-race groups. For example, one black child explained in class that the reason black children have a hard time in school is because they have a hard life outside school.

In the formal classroom setting, children primarily use the group labels "black" and "white." Other group labels, and the physical-typing terms which are heard from students in a variety of other school settings, are not employed in the classroom either by teachers or by students in exchanges with teachers.

Outside the constraints of the formal classroom situation, students expand the range of social-race terminology which they use. In informal situations, group-identity labels and physical-typing terms are commonly used to describe or address others, to explain actions, and to exhort behavior based on social-race identity. Use of the terms in these informal contexts is more common among blacks than whites.

Black students were often heard using social-race terms in a descriptive fashion such as "Who's that black lady?" They also make comments exemplified in one black boy's response to a researcher's question about whether there were two boys who had the same name in one class. One of the boys answered, "Yeah, one brown [himself] and one black [the other boy]". The second boy did not think this answer as funny as did the first.

An example of an explanatory context was provided by a group of black students who were heard discussing the fact that Ann, a sixth grade girl, had stolen some cookies. A black boy said,

> "Ann stole cookies that were supposed to be for a program." A black girl responded, "She white, she don't know how to do that kind of thing."

Black students frequently attempt to exhort behavior through the use of social-race terms to tease or taunt each other. One light-skinned girl, in particular, is the object of considerable teasing. For example, one day this girl, Helga, and two other girls were sitting together at lunch, when an ant crawled across the table.

> Jan accuses Helga of bringing the ant in her lunchbox. Helga denies the allegation. Then Jan, pretending to speak for the ant says, "'Let me go to a white girl's lunch' -- so it picked Helga." Helga does not respond. Gwen, the other girl, picks up the tease, "Then the ant said, 'No, I want a black girl's lunch to eat -- so it went to Helga.'" Gwen and Jan laugh. Helga makes no comment. She looks straight ahead and ignores their laughter.

Another common form of in-group teasing used by black students is name-calling which incorporates social-race terminology. One day at lunch the following exchange occurred.

> One black boy was trying to attract another's attention. The boy yelled out, "Hey, red man." The target of this address (a boy frequently called this name because of the reddish color of his hair) immediately turned around smiling, and yelled back, "Go on, you black-tar nigger."

Appelations such as "black gargoyle," "blackie," "black biscut," and "nappy head" are other examples.

These words as well as others, especially the word "nigger," are often used as address forms by blacks. When used as a form of address as in "come here, nigger," black usage of these terms may have positive connotations, being nearly equivalent to "friend" or "brother." Although use of "nigger" in this way is common among blacks, only one or two white students were allowed to use these words when addressing blacks.

We observed few instances of whites singling out others on the basis of group identity or physical typing except in an explanatory context where they might use the group label "white." We have no examples of whites exhorting each other or addressing each other using social-race terminology.

In making references to members of the opposite group in mixed company, use of the group-identity labels "black" and "white" in explanatory contexts was the norm. Use of the terms which unambiguously focus attention on social race in other cross-color contexts is rare.

The few instances of whites and blacks insulting each other through the use of social-race terms seemed to be cases of "lashing out" in frustration or anger rather than attempts to taunt or provoke. For example, Frank (black) and Edward (white) were pushing each other in the hall when Edward finally yelled at Frank who wouldn't stop, "I've got enough of black germs already." Or, on another occasion, the same white boy called several black boys "black niggers" when they systematically kept him from scoring in an improvised game they were playing.

In another example, the potential power of structuring in a cross-color confrontation around racial identity becomes apparent.

> Martha, a white girl and her white friend, Chris, are sitting on the seesaw. Two black girls, Mandy and Joanne, come and try to get on the seesaw. Martha shouts to the two blacks girls, "You can't get on here!" Mandy replies, "Just cause you white ... you ain't even white, you red." Martha says, "I'm white ... God made me that way and I like it." Mandy screams, "If you were white, you'd be the color of your shirt." Martha: "I don't see any of you ... I don't hear you either." After this statement, Martha and Chris vacate the seesaw.

In this argument, Martha cannot cope with the racial interpretation of this incident and refuses verbally to accept its validity. However, she does relinquish the seesaw to Mandy

Implications

Grandin students, particularly black students, have the terminology available to emphasize and manipulate social-race distinctiveness at the school. These linguistic labels differentiate blacks and whites and place negative valuations on outgroup members. While there are labels which can be used to express in-group solidarity, no such terms exist to express cross-color friendships. Unlike the example cited at the beginning of this section, social-race terms are more often used in a manner that enhances the social distinctiveness of the two groups rather than brings them together.

On the other hand, there is no evidence for negative (or positive) labels which describe one's posture toward members of the other social race. Among the children, there are no terms such as "oreo," "Uncle Tom," and "nigger-lover" which traditionally labeled blacks and whites who, from the point-of-view of same-group members, overstep the limits of their respective social-race identities or acceptable social-race relations. Nor are there special terms which are used to distinguish a cross-color relationship from a same-color relationship. These factors, plus the fact that the use of social-race terms is fairly infrequent, suggest that social race is not as strong a factor in molding relationships as it could be. Yet, in sum, it must be concluded that social-race terminology and its use at Grandin reflects and reinforces the social distinctiveness of blacks and whites. That these terms are utilized relatively infrequently, especially the more derogatory terms, is to some extent attributable to norms against provoking conflicts based on social race that seem to exist at Grandin. These norms are discussed further in a later section. In the next section, we discuss the framework from which social incidents are interpreted relative to social race.

SYMBOLIC ENCOUNTERS AND THE AMBIGUITY OF INTERPRETATION

In the ethnographic data collected for this study as well as in other anthropological literature on schools such as Fuchs (1969), there are numerous accounts of incidents which aroused the emotions of those involved. For example, during a Talking Diary interview, one of the students recounted the following incident that occurred with a substitute teacher:

> "We were at the lunch table about ready to leave and [the teacher]took this tray and shoved it to me and then the tray hit me. Then, she said, 'Hey, boy, take my tray.'I said, 'I don't want to take your tray.' She said, 'You take my tray or go to the office.' I said, 'I'd rather go to the office cause I ain't going to take your tray'; like that, so I went to the office."

Incidents such as these which evoke a strong reaction are referred to in this section as "symbolic encounters."

Symbolic encounters are actions that are deviant in that they convey unexpected positive or unexpected negative information about a social relationship. All encounters that involve exchange between humans convey social information about the relationship between the participants and are thus symbolic. The term "symbolic encounter," however, is used here to draw attention to those encounters which have a strong impact. A symbolic encounter causes an emotional response because it implies a redefinition of at least one participant's view of the relationship, the "self," or the "other." In the case described above, the student was outraged at the teacher's evident disregard for his dignity. He chose to go to the office rather than perform the simple, but loaded, act of carrying the tray to the counter. Positive symbolic encounters could also be noted. Various students, for example, reported incidents to us concerning classroom exchanges with teachers that were both surprising and pleasant.

Here, we are concerned with symbolic encounters that have to do with social race. These encounters are evaluated in light of the social-race identities of the participants. These interactions stand out because they deviate from what an individual expects or will accept from another having a given social-race identity. The encounters which are vulnerable to interpretation in terms of social race, the feelings that these encounters produce, the means available for settling them, and their frequency reveal important information about the organization of social-race relations at Grandin. Although these symbolic encounters could conceivable be positive, as shall be seen, this happens infrequently, if ever. In symbolic encounters that are interpreted as having to do with social-race identities, the tone is generally negative. A positively interpreted cross-color encounter is usually associated with identities other than social-race identities.

Frequency

The total number of social-race-related symbolic encounters that became topics of discussion at Grandin, were described to us, or were observed by us over the two-year research period is small. Between fifteen and twenty such encounters came to our attention and all but two or three of these were not incidents in the sense that they attracted widespread attention in the school.[4] Although these were almost all negative symbolic encounters, they certainly were not daily occurrences as might be imagined by someone familiar with southern patterns of race relations as recently as ten or fifteen years ago. (The reasons for their relative infrequency, including norms which serve to suppress such interpretations, are discussed in a following section.)

The relative infrequency of these symbolic encounters does not, however, mean that they are insignificant for individuals and for relations in the school. These incidents are upsetting and are particularly hard to resolve because they are so much a matter of interpretation.

Ambiguity

Three perhaps not unrelated features of race-related symbolic encounters are that they are usually negative, very upsetting, and often ambiguous. The ambiguity stems from two sources. First, what is considered demeaning, discriminatory, inappropriate, or unfair behavior if perpetrated by a white against a black, or vice versa, is culturally determined. Second, interpretation of an encounter from the framework of social race is only one of several ways encounters between blacks and whites could be explained.

Cultural Differences. It is well known that what is considered demeaning behavior in one society may not be so considered in another. Or, for that matter, what is considered demeaning by one individual may not be so considered by another. The incident of the tray described in the initial paragraph of this section might not have been upsetting to another student. The Talking Diary interviews produced another example:

> "You do not come in my face, you do not hit me in the face, you is a fool. I don't care if you a teacher or a principal or who, cause ain't no teacher never smacked me. One threatened to smack me. And you know what I told her: 'Here go my face; you smack me.' Now I was in the fourth grade ... and the teacher said, 'You -- if you fight or pass a lick, I'll smack you.' Me and this girl was playing, but the teacher thought we was hitting and then I hit the girl but she wouldn't hit me back because, see, she wanted to see me get in trouble. And the teacher told me: 'I told you that you better not hit that girl and if you did I would smack you', but see the teacher a fool; don't nobody smack me ... my mama don't even smack me."

The significnace this student attached to having her face hit is not unique. Many of the black students, in elicitation interviews, indicated that smacking someone on the face is very serious. Yet, the teacher described may very well have been unaware of the severity of the act to the student.

The point is that people learn what is considered demeaning or inappropriate. In a period where the status of a group of people is changing, or in a situation where there are cultural or subcultural differences, members of one group may not be up-to-date or aware of what the others consider demeaning. Without access to this knowledge, they may continually offend without recognizing that they are doing so -- unbelievable as it may seem to those whom they are offending.

Due to the culturally-determined nature of race-related symbolic encounters, individuals may not recognize the overtones of their actions or may dispute the attribution of racism to their act. In one situation, for example, one of the white teachers wanted to take advantage of an opportunity for the classes to view the movie "Gone With the Wind." When she talked with the other teachers about the possibility, she was informed by a black teacher that the movie was inappropriate for black students because of the manner in which black people were depicted. The white teacher was shocked. To her, the times presented in the film were long past with little significance for the present. She lacked the information that would have rendered the negative view of the film intelligible and so attributed it to over-sensitivity on the part of the black teacher. Nonetheless, the white teacher acquired, albeit in a somewhat painful manner, some information about what (at least some) black people consider unacceptable.

Multiple Interpretations. The second source of ambiguity in symbolic encounters involving social race is the potential for most of these encounters to be interpreted according to some other framework. Of the fifteen to twenty incidents that came to our attention, none were without two or more interpretations. A typical example is available from one of the parent interviews. When asked how she felt about Grandin, one of the parents related how a teacher at the school had punished her son for fighting. The two boys involved in the fight were treated differently by the teacher. Her son, who differs in social race from the other boy and the teacher, was punished while the other boy was not. The mother suspected, according to her son's report, that the differential treatment could be explained by the social race of the parties involved. She was angered by this possible discrimination, yet did nothing. One reason for her inaction was that she was unsure of her son's interpretation of the incident. She thought perhaps her son had imsinterpreted the incident and thus might be mistaken in trying to explain it in terms of social race.

The point here is not to present a case for the truth or falsity of racism in any of these cases. Instead, the objective is to indicate why there may be differences in the interpretations of encounters. The point that these encounters are inherently ambiguous can perhaps be made more clearly by the inclusion of an edited section of field notes taken from the second year. It should be noted that similar excerpts could be pulled from the notes in which other teachers -- both black and white -- could be described in the act of castigating or punishing a student of the other social race. The following excerpt is included because the researcher recorded her interpretation of the event as it occurred.

> I was standing in the hall talking to one of the white teachers who was away from her classroom. As we began to talk I heard the sound of sobbing from the Health Room. Soon a student, a girl who was being punished by another teacher, stuck her head out. It distressed me to see her crying, but I didn't do anything as the teacher with whom I was talking ignored her. Our conversation continued while the little girl continued to sob, now laying on the floor. The girl moved partially out into the hall where she was visible to us. She said she didn't like the school and wasn't coming back. The teacher interrupted our conversation to tell her to be quiet: 'OK, we've seen your face, now stop making that noise; we've seen you, now be quiet.' Later, the student said she would stay out. The teacher said, 'Go ahead.' This happened a few times until finally the little girl was quiet, falling asleep curled up half in and half out of the Health Room.

> As we continued with our conversation, I considered the incident. It was the first act that I had seen at Grandin that so clearly fit my stereotype of outright discrimination. To me, the little girl was distressed and needed to be comforted yet the teacher not only ignored her but castigated her as well. It was so apparent to me that the thing to do was comfort the child that I could only surmise that the teacher did not do so because of prejudice.
>
> I scarcely managed to recall that the act was not compatible with the veiw of the teacher that I had formed over the last two years. She had made some statements about the other social race as a group and about some adults in particular that were derogatory. On the other hand, in talking about students particularly, the teacher interpreted behavior as psychologically motivated and seemed to view all the students she discussed as using a variety of similar startegies regardless of their color.
>
> Thinking of the discrepancy between my view and what I had just witnessed, I asked the teacher if she knew the student since the student was not in her class. The teacher then related a five-minute description of the student and her methods of avoiding work and avoiding the rules that all the other students had to follow. She explained what she thought was the best way to socialize the student and, thus, what had motivated her treatment of the student. The teacher's analysis and ideas about how to treat the student were identical to those she had previously discussed and demonstrated in reference to other students both white and black that she considered behavior problems.

In evaluating the hall incident, its illusionary nature is clear. It could be portrayed as a clear-cut manifestation of simple, direct racism. But it could also be portrayed as a case of discipline and socialization. The ambiguity comes from the fact that the incident can be cast or interpreted using different frames of reference. If the social race of the characters is stressed and the other information excluded, the encounter acquires one meaning. If the school roles of the characters are stressed, the encounter becomes one in which a teacher or socializer attempts to modify a student's behavior to fit certain standards.[5]

The meanings of race-related symbolic encounters are almost always ambiguous. In these cases, people are responding not necessarily to the reality of the situation, but rather to its appearance. Perhaps because of the increased power of blacks to affect both political and school affairs in Bradford, whites are especially sensitive that their actions not be interpreted as racist. Since any negative judgment that a white person makes against a black person could be portrayed as or cast into a framework of racism, whites are vulnerable in many situations. It is also difficult, by the same token, for someone to prove racial discrimination. The inherent ambiguity of many of these incidents, in other words, means that it is both difficult to take action against and to defend oneself against charges of racism. Thus, as is further discussed below, conflicts interpreted from a framework of race are likely to fester unresolved.

Resulting Difficulties

When schools were segregated, symbolic encounters were more likely to be attributed to collectivities. Two black teachers, for example, who had gone to school in Bradford themselves, related how black students were given textbooks previously used by people they had never met. The books used in the black schools were discarded from the white schools.

This unequal treatment was attributable to whites as a group. In desegregated schools, in contrast, the encounters are more clearly associated with individuals and these individuals are often one's colleagues or classmates, potential friends, fellow committee members, or teammates. It is in this context that the possible impact of ambiguity of symbolic encounters must be calculated.

Conflicts tinged with suspected racism are very difficult to resolve. A charge or implied charge of racist behavior is a serious one which may sever ties among individuals who have to cooporate in many ways and it is almost sure to be denied. To solve the matter in a direct fashion is almost impossible and even in the case where the issue can be handled directly, as in the case of "Gone With the Wind," the problem is complex. If lack of information or lack of awareness prevented recognition of the racial overtones of an act in the first place, it is unlikely that merely being advised of the overtones will provide the framework needed to make sense of why such acts are distressing. The other party, meanwhile, sees the racist nature of the event so clearly that apparent failure to recognize it seems incredible and, therefore, suggestive of possible hidden prejudice.

Social race can also be a divisive issue among groups as well as among individuals. Because troublesome disagreements associated in part with social race are so difficult to confront on an individual basis, individuals may involve their friends in the problem. At Grandin, for example, both teachers and students are likely to complain to friends about the treatment they or another friend received. In some cases we knew about, struggles got to the point where there was a mobilization of sentiment and sometimes action taken against another teacher or student. If the target of negative action has simultaneously mobilized sentiment and action, factionalism can occur. Racism is a potent issue that can divide groups.

At Grandin, such factionalism has not developed to any great extent. However, there is some tension associated with the possibility of race-related symbolic encounters. This tension creates an additional problem: the reinforcement of barriers to the establishment of cross-color relationships in which information about student styles and sensitivities can be exchanged. Interpretation of behavior can be affected by the misreading of simple sub-cultural differences in behavior or sensitivities. Teachers cut off from open exchange with colleagues who understand these differences are forced repeatedly to make needless errors, limiting their effectiveness and perhaps leading to an adaptation of ceasing to try.

Salience of Social-Race Identities in Interpreting Interactions

We have argued above that the ambiguity inherent in race-related symbolic encounters renders them difficult to resolve and therefore potentially disruptive to friendships, to groups, to the school as a whole, and to the transfer of information about sub-cultural differences. As has been indicated, the occurrence of such encounters at Grandin is relatively rare. The factors that seem to decrease such occurrences are two: (1) the apparent low saliency of social-race identities as an explanatory framework for most of the students and teachers and (2) norms against the revelation of social race as a source of conflict.

There is little tendency at Grandin to dwell upon possible racial interpretations of encounters in general. This is true for both teachers and students. Both tend to restrict such interpretations to conflict situations and, even then, to a very limited number of conflict situations as reported above.

Some incidents are interpreted or explained by students as having to do with social-race identities. A clear example was described above where a black girl accused a white one of trying to use her whiteness to prevent the black girl from playing on a seesaw. Other such examples include a white girl's refusal to speak with a black boy who was beckoning to her in the cafeteria. Her white girlfriend teased her saying that Gordon probably wanted to "go with" her. She retorted that that was silly because blacks and whites do not go together. These examples, however, are some of the few that occurred. Despite explicitness on the part of students about the racial overtones of some incidences or actions, many encounters which could conceivably be interpreted as having such overtones are not so interpreted.

Students' lack of reliance on social-race identities as an explanatory framework was also revealed in the following case. A class discussion session lead by a white teacher inadvertently approached the subject of racism. The session was held near the end of the school term. Its purpose was to give students a chance to air their gripes about school that had been smoldering for years. The students, however, were more anxious to talk about things that had happened that year. They wanted to discuss teachers who had upset them. The teacher allowed them to do so, guiding their conversation so as to look at the situation from the teacher's point of view as well. As the students began to catalogue their grievances against two teachers in particular, it began to sound more and more as if they suspected the two of being racist. They described one example after another of the teachers treating children who happened to be white better than others who happened to be black. Finally, in an effort perhaps to bring the subject out in the open, the leader asked the students if they thought the two teachers were prejudiced. Only a small number of the students thought so, even though the leader had suggested what were the obvious racial overtones of what was being said. The teacher, who seemed to be ready to help students think about this interpretation, appeared a bit surprised that most of the students disagreed that the teachers were prejudiced. She then assured the students that from what she knew, none of the teachers at Grandin were prejudiced, and went on to another topic.

Adults at Grandin are even less inclined than students to overtly interpret encounters as resulting from the social-race identities of the participants. Nonetheless, clear differences were discernible among teachers in importance attached to social race or racism as a perspective from which to interpret things that happen at Grandin. As one of the black teachers told a researcher: "To me, a cracker is the saltine variety that comes in a box; a nigger is a person who doesn't conform, who behaves inappropriately." Others say that in their role as teacher, they lose awareness of the students as having social-race identities. Another black teacher spent many weeks in deliberation before she finally decided that a white student's refusal to come to class must be because she could not accept having a black teacher. These positions, which downplay the importance of social race, contrast with those of other teachers who attribute the problems of most of their students to white teachers who lack the background to understand and handle black students coming from neighborhoods like those of the Grandin students. And, there are other teachers who never mention social race at all. Because of the differences among all teachers, black and white, there is no clear demarcation of attitude along social-race lines.

In fact, should an attempt be made to mobilize one set of faculty against the other on the issue of social race, it probably would fail. It probably would fail not only because of the lack of consensus as to how important social race is, but also because, at present, there seems to be a norm to forego interpretations of racism and avoid conflicts rooted in social-race issues.

This norm, which is discussed in detail in the following section, suggests the possibility, although unlikely given the problems of hiding such information, that we as observers were shielded from some race-related symbolic encounters that attracted attention. It is also true that many such encounters were not discussed with people in school at all. In the weekly open-ended interviews that were conducted with ten students, at least three described upsetting encounters which had not been discussed by them at the school.

In sum, examination of the frequency of race-related symbolic encounters at Grandin has revealed that such encounters are relatively rare. School encounters usually are interpreted at Grandin in terms of social identities other than race, a pattern which can be attributed partially to norms against the airing of race-related issues in public.

Although such encounters are rare, as indicated by our data, they have a powerful impact. Potentially, they can disrupt relationships among teachers, among students, and between students and teachers, spilling over into larger groups and contributing to an atmosphere in which social racel constitutes a barrier to cross-color friendship and to the exchange of information. At Grandin, polarization among school participants along social-race lines does not seem imminent on a large scale due to the variance among teachers and students regarding the relevance of social-race interpretation of interactions at Grandin. Rather, suspected episodes of prejudice are generally kept private.

In the two preceding sections we have discussed two sources of information on the organization of social-race relations: symbolic encounters and social-race terminology. In both we have seen that the invocation of social-race identity occurs primarily in cases of conflict, that these situations are often very troublesome, and that school adults, especially, try to avoid these conflict situations. The aspects of Grandin life so far described clearly point to the existence of norms associated with cross-color interactions and exchanges at Grandin. These norms can be further highlighted by an examination of a third source of information about the organization of social-race interaction: "unusual characters."

UNUSUAL CHARACTERS

Unusual characters are individuals who attract attention because they chronically violate expectations. They are like symbolic encounters in that they are deviant cases, attracting attention as a result of their extraordinary nature. The fact that they are singled out as unusual, and the basis on which it occurs, suggests the boundaries of normative expectations at Grandin. Here, interest focuses upon those individuals considered unusual by their fellows in that they violate anticipations or expectations about how white school participants act toward and relate to black school particiapnts, and vice versa.

Among school participants, there would probably be little agreement about and awareness of the individuals to be discussed. This is not surprising since, as discussed above, there is little consensus on the importance and relevance of social race in school affairs and little public discussion of such matters. Barriers to the flow of information prevent the development of a school-wide consensus about what the norms regarding social race are and who has violated them. The following discussion centers upon people who were pointed out by one or more students, teachers, or the principal as being unusual.

Student rejection of a teacher on the basis of social race is very unusual. Although students may comment in private on social-race-related characteristics of a disliked teacher, social-race identities do not normally prevent individuals from accepting one another as a teacher or as a student. (See Strauss 1959:71 for a discussion of interferring identities.) A new student drew attention because she began to be absent with what were considered flimsy excuses. Giving size as the reason for her fear of the teacher, the student studied at home with books from school. Eventually, she transferred to another school. Her unusual behavior was finally attributed, after much deliberation by the teacher, to an inability to adjust to having a black teacher.

Rejection of peers on the basis of social race is more common and does not occasion comment unless it goes beyond a certain point. Perhaps because they are in the minority, white students who have difficulty interacting with their black peers stand out more than black students who have difficulty with white peers. Some of the white students confine almost all their interactions to white friends and fellow students. They seem to studiously avoid their black schoolmates. These students are not considered remarkable or strange by the people at Grandin. The teachers, in general, talk about this avoidance pattern among certain students with surprise. One of the teachers, for example, felt that such patterns could be expected because the white students, especially the girls, fear what seems to them to be threatening behavior on the part of some of the black students. Some parents indicated, in the parent interviews, that because of differences in backgrounds and interests, they did not expect their white daughter or son to become too friendly with their black classmates.

Although students who exclusively associate with others of their own social race are not considered to be deviant, there are some cases in which white students are so unfriendly or exclusive that they provoke teacher or student reaction. One of these girls, Jill, had difficulty on the Powderpuff patrol apparently because of her aloofness and air of superiority. She and a close friend were considered, according to one of the directors of the patrol, to have inappropriate attitudes. Jill was also observed to be the object of somewhat unusual student treatment. A group of black girls surrounded her at her patrol post one morning, badgering and taunting her. They informed her that they were "powderpuff, too."

> Jill was on her post as patrol outside the door to the cafeteria. A group of five black girls standing near her were openly violating a rule which she was supposed to be enforcing. When she finally said something to them, they gathered close around her and began to taunt her. She was obviously uncomfortable and at loss as to what to do. They finally moved away when another situation attracted their attention.

In an interview where a black girl not involved in the incident was asked to describe Jill, she said, "She's prejudiced; she only likes white people; she treats people bad she don't know."

A few other white students are considered unusual because of the opposite extreme. One of these was pointed out to us early in the study; more accurately his relationship with Lamont, a black student, was considered worthy of mention. These two students were quite close friends -- a rare cross-color relationship at Grandin. In fact, Andre was one of the few white students accepted almost on equal terms among the black students. As described in the previous section, his incorporation was so complete that he was able to use social-race terms with his black friends in a solidarity-promoting fashion. Although Andre and other white students who achieved such acceptance were not emphasized a great deal, close cross-color friendships such as that of Andre and Lamont were occasionally mentioned as an exception to the usual patterm.

A few words might also be included as to what is considered by school participants to be unusual behavior on the part of a teacher. In independent discussions with some of the white teachers, the trait of teacher "flexibility" or adaptability was discussed as a positive attribute. Among these teachers, the styles of dress and deportment exbibited by many of the black and some of the white students, while they violate older standards, are viewed as acceptable and irrelevant to education. One teacher, however, was mentioned as an example of someone who instead of accepting these changes, clings to the old standards of dress and deportment and attempts to force the students to uphold them. The teacher tries to prevent the students from using certain kinds of language, wearing hats and unbuttoned shirts, and expects students to accept the teacher as an unquestioned authority. This teacher and a few other white teachers were singled out by another teacher in a fairly explicit discussion as teachers who lack the understanding and knowledge that would enable them to effectively teach the type of students who now attend Grandin. Along with the new teachers being turned out by the local university, these teachers, it was argued, have not mastered the styles in interaction and discipline that succeed with Grandin's students.

In a few cases, two black teachers were described by a white teacher as being "over-sensitive." This was mentioned in reference to isolated incidents rather than about the person in general.

As described in more detail below, of the twenty-one teachers to whom the students we followed were exposed, two are disliked by students primarily because of what could be interpreted as prejudicial treatment of black students.[6] It is suggestive that the classes of these two teachers come the closest to exhibiting what Gallimore, et at. (1974) have termed a "culture of conflict." (In a situation ruled by a "culture of conflict," students and teachers develop patterns of mutual hostility, behaving in ways they normally do not. A schismogenesis, to borrow Bateson's (1972) term, arises in which the disruptive action of the class produces more disliked actions on the part of the teacher, which elicits more disruption on the part of the students, and so on. The students seem to delight in provoking the ire of these teachers. They act in ways which will counter the teacher's purposes, not because they are caught up in some student-organized activity, but to spite the teacher. A student who sided with one of these teachers complained to us that the students treated this teacher just like she was another student. These teachers, in other words, who are singled out as being unusually unfair, are also treated differently by the students. It is interesting to note that although our notes show six cases of incidents which students interpreted as discriminatory on the part of black teachers, none of the incidents involved the same teacher. None of the black teachers have acquired a reputation among the students for treating whites unfairly.

Norms for Social-Race Relations

The individuals described above are considered by school participants to be unusual because their cross-color relationships exhibit patterns which are outside the normal range. The nature of their unusual behavior provides a source of data from which the norms for social-race relations at Grandin can be inferred. This source is augmented by a consideration of the reaction to symbolic encounters and attempts to control certain uses of social-race terminology. The normative aspects of social-race relations are summarized below.

First, it is apparent that the norms apply to overt behavior. Public practices and statements that are interpretable as exhibiting racism are to be avoided. This is true for teachers and students. Students are punished if in a conflict they try to insult another student by reference to social race.

Nonpublic sentiments about social race receive less focus. Actual feelings and opinions, those expressed in private, sometimes are a subject of speculation but do not seem to be of much public concern. No one "beats the bushes" to uncover concealed prejudices or derogatory beliefs.

Teacher-student relations are governed by norms promoting the primacy of the teacher's duty to the student and vice versa. Teachers are expected to be able to effectively manage their classes regardless of the type of students who make up the class. Furthermore, teachers must not allow any negative feelings about people of a given social race to interfere with or be manifest in relations with a student, no matter what the student's social-race identity. Neither is it expected that students will be unable to accept an individual as a teacher because of the person's social race.

Polite Cooperation

The informal expectation is that at a minimum standards of politeness will be maintained in black-white interactions. This set of norms might be thought of as promoting, at the least, an air of "polite cooperation." In teacher-teacher interactions or in student-student interactions, there is an expectation of courteous and polite treatment commensurate with what might be expected among acquaintances of equal status. Consistent violators of these requirements of courteousness, such as Jill and Martha, are pressured to conform. Those like Andre who are able to go beyond courtesy and establish close friendships are considered exceptional.

As revealed by the fact that Andre is considered unusual in having a close friend who is black, the politeness demanded in cross-color interactions does not necessarily entail friendship. One of the white teachers called attention to the superficiality of the sociability among black and white teachers by suggesting that it would probably not carry over into neighborly exchanges should a black and white teacher live in the same area. A black teacher pointed out that although everyone is polite, the friendliness goes only so far. When the teachers go out to get in cars to go to a mutual destination, whites ride with whites and blacks with blacks. To her, the superficial sociability is a poor substitute for the warm colleagial relations she experienced in the past in all-black schools. Nothwithstanding this perceived shallowness, the cross-color sociability was a factor of Grandin life which a number of people wanted us to see. Tricia's argument (see Chapter 2) that the students altered their behavior to give us the impression that blacks and whites got along is pertinent in this regard. In his last Talking Diary interview, Joseph was asked what he would see at Grandin if he were to come as an anthropologist. He answered:

> "Well, I'd try to find black and white friends, being friendly to each other, playing games with each other."

When the interviewer asked if he would really find that, he answered:

> "Not really, I don't think that would be real."

Although he confessed not to believe it, he apparently was interested in suggesting harmony and friendship.

There also was some indication that some adults edited their comments so as to underplay the possibility of racial conflict. One teacher said that little had been said to us about a disagreement over the placement of a fifth grade student because it appeared to be a racial problem.

These incidents indicate that some of the teachers and students wanted us to get a happier picture of black-white relations than they were sure really existed. To a degree, the effort to maintain polite relations and the effort to present an image of harmony are similar concerns.

THE MANAGEMENT AND PREVENTION OF SOCIAL-RACE-RELATED CONFLICT

In discussing symbolic encounters and social-race terminology, we have seen that the potential for cleavage and conflict along social-race lines is very high. Denigration of individuals on the basis of social race is facilitated by the existence of derogatory social-race categories. Solidarity-promoting social-race terms ease the expression of in-group solidarity, but not across-group solidarity. The susceptibility of cross-color behavior to interpretations from a framework of racism provide a potential ambiguity and uncertainty to all such interactions. Furthermore, once begun, a cleavage even partially rooted in accusations of racism, whether voiced or not, is difficult to resolve, easily exacerbated, and likely to spill over to a larger group. In spite of this potential, conflicts at Grandin are rare. In the following, features which serve to prevent such developments are discussed.

Norms

As have been discussed, the norms governing social-race relations at Grandin probably tend, on a short-term basis at least, to suppress and avoid conflict. The disallowance of overt racism, the emphasis on politeness, and the emphasis on the teacher's duty as teacher and student's duty as student -- regardless of the social-race identities of the individuals involved -- can be seen as tending toward a situation in which conflicts involving social race are underplayed and less likely to be given public expression.

The normative system works, however, only so long as everyone chooses to honor it. There are few effective means to sanction violators of these norms. Teachers' methods of applying pressure to one another, which were observed at Grandin, are limited to directly approaching the colleague, mobilizing the sympathy and support of friends, or bringing the problem to the attention of the principal or offending teacher's supervisor. All of these methods, which are similar to those available to students, are problematic. Confronting such issues, for example, is very risky given the emotions involved.

The norms for social-race relations at Grandin, in sum, could be characterized as promoting courteous co-operation and a suppression of potentially divisive symbolic encounters. As a force, however, they depend upon individual acceptance. Violations of these norms are difficult to suppress. Since they constitute informal rules, involving an authority is sometimes difficult; bringing them up to an offender is a serious challenge; and group action is likely to be met by antagonism. If these norms were all that prevented the eruption of conflict, it is not likely that they would succeed. As it happens, they are complemented by other norms which allow diversity and by changes introduced by the district during the desegregation period.

Rule Pluralism

Two other mechanisms which have reduced the potential for conflict seem to have arisen spontaneously in the school. As has been described previously, there is heterogeneity among teachers as to the behavioral rules that the students must follow in class. Some of the resource classes are organized for individual instruction. Students must learn how to operate using a very different set of rules in these classes than those they use in the more traditional classrooms. It is expected that students will be able to manage these two sets of rules and it is also expected that students will be able to manage different rules about proper behavior. In some classes, for example, the wearing of hats is considered very improper, while in others it is not a big problem. Similarly, chewing gum is allowed in some classes and not in others. The acceptance of heterogeneity by the teachers, with the expectation that students will follow the rules of the teacher whose class they are in, is obviously an adaptation to the existence of different standards of behavior among the faculty. The adaptation devised is one which logically could be thought of as avoiding conflict.

Social Class

A second mechanism which may serve to limit the amount of conflict among teachers at Grandin is the attribution of student problems to their class background rather than to their social race. Student difficulties are attributed to problems that the students encounter at home -- the poor conditions for doing homework, the disrupted environment, the necessity of dealing with a tough neighborhood. The recognition of student problems in these areas and the efforts of teachers to accommodate these problems is a position with which most of the teachers can sympathize. Unlike the potential of social race, class or income level does not cleave the faculty in two. While it is acceptable to blame poor performance on social class, it is not acceptable to attribute it to social race. To the extent that there is consensus that the poor achievement scores of some Grandin students can be attributed to social class, conflict is spared among the teachers.

Withdrawal

A final mechanism which serves to control conflict is an individual one: withdrawal. Teachers and administrators who are unhappy with the direction in which the system is going drop out. Former principals and teachers in the district can be found who quit because they could not adjust to the changed conditions that accompanied desegregation. Some felt they were not trained to teach the new type of students in their classes and looked for jobs in other systems; others simply lacked the interest to continue teaching. Students also drop out or are taken out by their parents and sent to private schools, to other schools, or to districts more compatible with their desires.

Aside from leaving the school altogether, students also have means of temporary withdrawal. They prepare excuses and get involved in other activities so as to miss classes they dislike, or once in the class they misbehave so as to be dismissed. During a period when one of the special-subject teachers was not getting along too well with the students from a particular class, for example, one of the researchers entered the following notes:

> When the teacher announced that it was time to go to [the special-subject class], Quintin said he couldn't go because he had an earache. The teacher told him: "I'm sorry but you'll have to go anyway." Next, Ashley told the teacher that his head hurt, that he didn't want to go. He and some others hung around in the regular classroom for a long time. Finally, the teacher sent them on. A few minutes later, Jackson came back into the room. He had been kicked out of [the special-subject class]. Then Quintin came back, complaining about what the special-subject teacher had

> made them do. Several more students returned to the room. Russell started predicting who would be next to be kicked out. He was pretty close. Then Russell warned the others to go hide in the bathroom so that the regular teacher wouldn't find them upon returning to the classroom.

Students also withdraw by staying home or playing hooky. The average number of absences for the students we were observing was 11.8 days and 11.0 days for their fifth and sixth grade years, respectively. Some students had more than 50 absences. Staying away, as stated by students, is one way of avoiding teachers that are disliked or problems with fellow students.

Other clear cases of withdrawal for whatever reason are exhibited by students who participate only minimally in class. Perhaps the most extreme case observed was a student named Jake. During his time at Grandin, he was never observed to initiate an interaction with anyone. He did as he was told, but remained completely passive despite the teacher's efforts to engage him. The teacher later told one of the researchers that she had seen Jake on the street one day with his brother and that she could scarcely believe his animation and activity. By drawing little attention to themselves and minimizing their response when called upon, a student can withdraw from the class. One fifth grade student, Chris, a teacher remarked, had been so passive that no one had noticed she could scarcely read.

The most bizarre case of withdrawal was that of Samuel. Samuel managed to defy all efforts to bring him into conformity. He went so far as resorting to having bowel movements at his desk and threatening suicide if he were made to acquire certain skills such as cursive writing. His response had the effect of eventually eliminating demands made upon him and he was thus able to spend his time reading whatever he chose despite the protests of the other students who wanted to know why he did not have to do the work everyone else did. Although Samuel's method of withdrawal was too flamboyant to avoid conflict, most withdrawal methods used at Grandin do serve to eliminate conflict in that one of the antagonistic forces drops out for all effective purposes.

Temporary methods of withdrawal are also available to teachers, but on a restricted basis. A teacher is not as free to miss class as are students. Medical leaves are possible for termination in the middle of the year, but again this is an extreme measure. Another method is to have only minimal involvement in the class, filling up the time with various devices such as television programs, seat work, and films. These learning experiences, of course, can have educational value if they are integrated into the lessons. On the other hand, they can be used simply as a time filler. Generally, withdrawal of this sort is possible because there is difficulty in assessing the feedback that teachers get about the effectiveness of their teaching (McPherson 1972) and because there is no way for someone who is not present in the classroom to know whether the material is being integrated or not.

These methods of avoiding conflict are aided by certain district policies.

District Policy

During the last decade, there have been some indications of a reorganization of district policies away from the traditional reward structure of the schools, with its clear designations of successful and unsuccessful students, toward a system in which the standards and rewards for success and failure are muted. In place of the traditional system, an emphasis has been increasingly placed on alternative modes of instruction including what are described as remedial programs. Instead of failing students who fall behind, as measured by standardized tests or as assessed by the teacher, efforts are made to bring such students up to standard through programs based on individual instruction. During this period, quality remedial programs for math and reading have been emphasized although they are not yet available to all who are eligible for them.[7]

It is important to note that the new system may have distinct educational advantages since it avoids some of the negative labeling of the traditional system. For some, these alternative modes of instruction (which include those used in the "exceptionally talented" resource class) may allow for learning that would not otherwise occur. Here, however, we are interested in possible consequences for social-race relations. In this respect, we emphasize that the new system, besides its possible educational advantages, might also be seen as having spared the district considerable conflict. The features of district policy relevant in this regard are: (a) a de-emphasis on enforcement of evaluative policies, (b) a down-playing of overt markers of a student's ability or progress relative to other students, (c) a non-punitive attendance policy, (d) some de-emphasis on contact between teachers and parents, and (e) an effort to make evaluation and disciplinary procedures more objective. The policies developed or maintained by the central office during this period do not all necessarily have their origin in desegregation, of course, yet they have accompanied this period and have a bearing upon the conflict that might have been expected in the wake of school desegregation.

During the 1974-1975 shool year, Grandin was directed by the central office to avoid the establishment of any racially identifiable class (that is, a class non-representative of the student body) that lasted for more than one and a quarter hours. In 1975, the school board adopted the principle of mainstreaming in which students can be separated from their classmates for resource or special classes for one or two class periods only. In addition, fairly lengthy procedures were set up to establish the eligibility of students for the resource classes. These procedures include a teacher recommendation for the class, parental permission to test students, administration of an IQ test, and review of the student's case by a screening committee comprised of the principal, resource teachers, the school psychologist, and the resource supervisor. Finally, parental permission must be obtained to transfer the student to the special class. These procedures, whe first instituted in the fall of 1975, caused a lengthy delay in the establishment of the resource classes.

The principle of mainstreaming, the demand for racially-balanced classes, and the procedures required for admission to special classes made charges of unequal treatment on the basis of social race more difficult to sustain. Officially, the students were treated as equals entitled to remedial or special education only under special circumstances, including permission of the parents.

Changes in student evaluation procedures in elementary school and the acceptance of "social promotions" also served to reduce conflict. The new report card forms, introduced after the first significant period of desegregation, do not have a category of "failing." Rather, the student is marked by a system of three numbers: "1" indicating "very good," "2" for satisfactory," and "3" for "having difficulty." Although students dread 3's, the evaluations are not quite so clear cut as they were in the past. Not until junior high does the student face the possibility of an "F." Social promotion in junior high is reported less common. Teachers are freer with "F's" and willing to fail students. By that time, of course, it is easier to demonstrate that a student does not deserve to pass due to an obvious lack of skills and a failure to master course content.

A related point concerns the lack of sanctions for low attendance. Extremely poor attendance is a sufficient cause for retention. At Grandin, the one fifth grade student who failed during the 1975-76 school year did so because of poor attendance. In general, until very recently, the district has done little to enforce attendance; the matter was left up to the parents and the personal efforts of the teacher and the principal. Some teachers brought to this task a great deal of skill and interest. Others brought little.[8]

These reporting, attendance, and promotion policies, in tandem with the alternative instructional approach which has begun to be instituted, may have positive educational consequences, especially in the cases where students are provided with alternative approaches that are successful.

What we are concerned with in this section, however, is that these policies probably have had the additional effect of decreasing the potential sources of conflict among teachers, students, parents, and administrators.

Another potential source of disputes is the administration of corporal punishment. Regulations have also been established to reduce the possibility of conflict in this area. In order to paddle a student, a teacher now must follow certain procedures including warning the student of the offense and the proposed punishment and the witnessing of the spanking by another teacher. These procedures tend to ensure the inclusion of evidence that the teacher's purpose is a legitimate one and not susceptible to interpretation from a symbolic frame of race.

In some sense, disciplinary methods and student placement have become constrained by procedural guidelines while the more punitive aspects of enforcement of evaluation standards in elementary school have been relaxed. In the case of other school practices, a relaxation occurred as well. Prior to school desegregation, teachers were required to make "home visits" for each of their pupils. Following desegregation, teachers were encouraged, but not required, to visit. The practice has diminished significantly, if not essentially disappeared.

The district-level policies of non-punitive response to lax attendance; social promotion; de-emphasis on overt markers of students' relative ability or progress; some de-emphasis on parent-teacher contact; and an effort to ensure objectivity in disciplinary and student placement procedures have probably all contributed to the low level of conflict at

Grandin. Judging from the disagreement that arose among the teachers over the placement of a retained student and the privately expressed doubts that some teachers express about decisions to send students to Carswell (a state-supported "re-education" center for students with problems), retentions and student assignments seem to be areas about which emotionally-charged conflicts can arise. A student's problems, if attributed to a teacher's rather than to the student's difficulties, can engender unpleasant discussions. The district's policies reduced the potential for these conflicts by allowing a relaxation of the sorting system which had operated previously. Should the district move in a reverse direction, toward the older system of emphasizing relative failure and success rather than muting the traditional reward system while depending on remedial and alternative programs to bring students up to expected levels, the sources of conflict might be increased.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the school described in this study, social-race identities are seldom explicitly referred to in public. This is particularly the case when both black and white people are present. Although black students make reference to one another's social-race identity to indicate solidarity, to tease, or to taunt, social-race identities are generally brought to the fore in mixed groups only in situations of conflict or competition when anger has been aroused. No obvious vestiges were found of the older etiquette of southern race relations.

Blacks are not constrained to enact inferior positions in interactions with whites and, in fact, have and use as many negative terms for insulting whites on the basis of social race as whites have for blacks.

A primary situation in which social race does become an explicit identity in reference to a mixed group is one in which prejudice or discrimination is suspected. These highly emotional situations, which are difficult to resolve due to the ambiguity involved, occur less frequently at Grandin and in the school district in general than might have been anticipated from knowledge of traditional southern race relations. It is important to note that although there are relatively few incidents, the possibility of their occurrence creates anxiety, especially among whites. Although both whites and blacks cite incidents of suspected discrimination, whites believe they are more vulnerable to charges of racism than are blacks. In private, whites, both students and teachers, ruefully describe situations in which they argue that a charge of racism would have been brought had the perpetrator been white and not black. Charges of blacks discriminating against whites, however, simply lack the symbolic force that the history of race relations in this country and years of black struggle in Bradford lend to charges levied against whites. Thus, whites must worry more about avoiding racist-appearing acts than must blacks.

This framework of racism, along with the negative social-race terminology and the history of race relations in this country, provide difficult sustenance for the development of positive relations in the school. They are better suited for use in the expression of hostility and schism. In the face of this potential for cleavage, however, we find that relative harmony is maintained in the school.

Support for this harmony derives from three sources. First, the normative structure tends to de-emphasize the importance of social race and acts against public proclamations of suspected racism. Norms also prohibit overt racism, favoritism, and explicit reference to social race except in very restricted contexts. In general, these norms of polite cooperation favor, at the least, an air of sociability and mutual acceptance.

A second area of support for harmony at Grandin derives from a shared perspective among teachers concerning the origin of the educational problems of many of Grandin's students. School adults agree that lower-income children are often faced with poor home conditions that cause them problems in school. Thus, problems that in the past might have been attributed by whites to social race are now attributed to social class. Teachers, students, and administrators who do not share in this consensus, who violate norms against favoritism and sociability, or who for other reasons have not been able to adjust to the changes accompanying desegregation, have tended to withdraw.

A third basis for harmony lies in district policies which have decreased potential sources of black-white conflict and competition. At the elementary school level, district policy has tended to mute the traditional reward structure of the school and replace it with dependence on alternative programs for those who fall behind as well as for those who are "exceptionally talented." The muting of the traditional reward structure through a non-punitive approach to lax attendance, social promotions, more explicit procedures for distributing rewards and punishments, the practice of mainstreaming, and the switch in elementary school to a less specific grading system; have all tended to decrease emphasis on differential school performance and therefore conflict. There is less for teachers to disagree about among themselves in the rewarding of students, less clear indications of the success of black students relative to whites, and fewer decisions for parents to dispute. De-emphasis on the school's differentiation among students may have promoted student harmony as well. Unlike schools described by Lacey (1970) and McDermott (1974) wherein students were markedly differentiated by the school, no anti-school group has developed among grandin's students.

The harmony achieved at Grandin is only so deep. Because few close friendships have developed and the exchange of information about differences in styles and preferences is proceeding very slowly, social norms bear the weight of promoting harmony. Harmony is held together largely by social mechanisms rather than by personal ties. As have been described, patterns of informal segregation, especially among students, tend to be the rule.

In a second sense, the somewhat superficial nature of the harmony is indicated by privately-revealed cross-color problems. Although only a few incidents occur which are described in public as having social overtones, both teachers and students have experiences which trouble them because they sense an element of prejudice. These experiences, which are not widely discussed, affect both blacks and whites. Although the teachers and principal sometimes catch wind of student feelings of this type, there seem to be a number of situations in which they go undetected.

As is described in more detail elsewhere, teachers are left virtually on their own to decide to what extent and how to instruct students about social race. As might be expected given the sensitivity of the subject, there is limited direct instruction or attention paid in classes to such problems and, thus, students are learning little in the way of explanation or understanding of cross-color problems. Students are encouraged to behave appropriately relative to the norms of polite cooperation that are fostered in the school, yet they have little rationale or ideology to motivate this behavior or to explain incidents that violate the norm.

Despite these problems with the emerging organization of social-race relations found at Grandin, it must be pointed out that the situation could be much worse. Although the harmony that has been achieved is tenuous, and in some respects superficial, many more negative possibilities have been avoided. The legacy of social-race relations in the South and in the country in general provide few positive models of black-white relations, yet polarization and demeaning behavior is held in check in the school. Obvious patterns of overt discrimination are absent.

The credit for this outcome must go to school participants and to the situation in Bradford. The black community has been politically organized for some thirty years and has managed to support relatively strong black upper and middle classes. The years of organized political struggle for black interests has perhaps had the effect of assuring blacks more equal status in interaction with whites and drawn energy for conflict away from interpersonal relations and into the political arena. In the school district, the dual system has been eliminated and blacks have begun to achieve representation in the new system, -- in the administration, on the faculty, and on the school board -- that is commensurate with student ratios. These factors have undoubtedly affected the tone of social-race relations that have developed in the school.

One of the more interesting questions about the future of Bradford schools and the results of the reorientation of social-race relations, concerns the traditional reward structure of the schools. Bradford has moved away from the traditional system with its reliance upon rewarding and punishing students relative to differential academic achievement. In its place has been a movement, although a limited one, toward remedial and alternative programs which could be viewed from another perspective as simply a diversification of modes of instruction for those who for whatever reason do not profit sufficiently from the regular approach. Pressures to return to a more traditional approach in which, for example, students are suspended for missing too much school and report cards are made more clearly evaluative have been exerted in the district. Though this has been rejected for the time being, were there to be a return to such a system rather than an attempt to develop a new system -- perhaps one with less punitive methods of handling students' school problems and more focus on alternative modes of instruction geared to the strengths, weaknesses, and orientations of the particular students -- then we may guess that lower-income children will continue to show relatively poor results and, thus, that black children who are over-represented in this group will continue to experience lower educational achievement.

PART IV: THE SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK-WHITE RELATIONS AT GRANDIN

An early morning visitor to Grandin who arrived before the school participants would be able to tell that both adults and children were normally present in the school. There would be doors designating the teacher's lounge and the principal's office and signs beside room entrances noting that this room was Mrs. So-and-so's, that one, Mr. So-and-so's. There would also be many small desks and easy-reading books in every room. A visitor could also tell that boys and girls attended the school: the bathrooms are designated for their separate use. A stranger could not as easily tell, however, the social-race composition of the Grandin population by these kinds of outward signs. There are no specifically marked doors, areas, or equipment for blacks and whites. Nor are there many pictorial representations of racially-identifiable people, especially black people. WIth the exception of a few rooms where magazine clippings and student drawings depict black people, few bulletin boards portraying blacks, and even fewer showing blacks and whites together, could be found unless the visit coincided with black history month. Instead, traditional holidays, seasonal activities or scenes, school rules for behavior, or birthdays would be common subjects for bulletin boards and other decorations in the school building.

The limited amount of official or physical evidence attesting to Grandin's status as a desegregated school understates the importance of social race in the social organization of the school. At the same time, lack of many explicit signs reflects in essence the general avoidance of the potentially troublesome questions of social-race identity and cross-color relationships at the school. This same pattern is evident in the socialization of students about social race.

In describing what is learned about social race, it is useful to distinguish beliefs and values about social race from competence with cultural styles more common to members of another social race. The first will be referred to as social-race beliefs; the second as bicultural competence.

Desegregated schools are potential settings in which students can become bicultural[1] or at least acquire competence in understanding different linguistic, behavioral, and relational styles. They are also settings in which students acquire beliefs about members of other social races and knowledge of the etiquette of social-race relations.

In examining the process whereby students acquire social-race beliefs and bicultural competence, a two-step framework is proposed. First, the opportunities made available by the school structure are identified. Second, the nature of social-race relations is analyzed for the light it sheds on the degree of realization of these opportunities. In taking this perspective, we have drawn liberally from the conceptual framework posited by Gearing and associates (Gearing 1973; Gearing and Tindall 1973; Gearing, _et al_. 1975; Gearing 1976a, b; and Gearing, _et al_. n.d.).

An assumption of Gearing's theory, which was introduced in Chapter 5 and which we find to be of important heuristic value, specifies that within a population information would be randomly distributed were it not for social barriers which impede its flow. This assumption implies, for example, that in a desegregated school both white and black students are capable of acquiring bicultural competence and shared beliefs about social race. Hypothetically, students, regardless of their social race, sex, or other social characteristics, can be expected to acquire facility, for example, with all verbal styles used in the school. Where these capabilities are not realized, according to Gearing, social barriers are likely to exist which impede the transfer of information about verbal styles or the opportunity to display knowledge of them. The onus is placed not upon individuals' inability to learn, or the complexity of the information, but rather upon social patterns in which socialization is channeled according to the social identities of the participants. Learned behavior is reinforced where it is defined as appropriate according to the sex, social race, or some other pertinent social characteristic of the learner. Following Gearing's framework, we are concerned with the information made available to blacks and whites about one another and the extent to which students of different social races are allowed to use such information.

In the following two chapters, we describe what students seem to be learning about social race at Grandin and how they are learning it. The first chapter focuses upon the actions of adults in this socialization process; the second upon the actions of peers.

CHAPTER 9: LEARNING ABOUT SOCIAL RACE FROM GRANDIN ADULTS

The first task of describing social-race socialization at Grandin is to outline the available opportunities for acquiring social-race beliefs and bicultural competence. These opportunities are divided into five types: teacher-focused events; teacher-controlled symbolic presentations; teacher-organized events and relationships; student-organized events and relationships; and student-controlled symbolic presentations. This chapter focuses on the first two categories, those opportunities in which the teacher plays a central role and teacher differences in the opportunities they provide for social-race socialization.

TEACHER-FOCUSED EVENTS

Teachers, because of the control they have over scheduling activities and their position of authority, could conceivably take a very active role in socializing students to bicultural competence and in disseminating social-race beliefs. In fact, however, most Grandin teachers tend to act in a hesitant manner in this regard. That teachers are sensitive to their treatment of social race as a matter for discussion in school was made clear by one informant who believed parents, especially whites, would object if social race was stressed too much.

If anything teachers, as officials of the school, tend to attempt to socialize all students to competence in what might be called "standard American Culture." This tendency is most clearly revealed in linguistic practices. Thus, students who use Southern or Black English styles such as, "It's real nice." (instead of "It's very nice.") or "He writing." (instead of "He is writing.") sometimes encounter an adult's correction or a lesson in the language arts text addressed to correcting such constructions. As we shall see, teachers, if they are concerned at all with bicultural competence, focus their attention primarily on conflict. These teachers see the need for both white and black students to learn more about different cultural styles in order to prevent misunderstandings which may lead to conflicts.

It is also true that most of the teachers give very limited attention to instructing students in beliefs about social race or in the meanings associated with social-race identities. The most common teacher-structured event for exchanging information about social-race beliefs comes when teachers organize presentations or discussions around subjects such as black history, "races" of the world, and the history of black-white relations in the United States. These events are particularly common during black history month. During the course of one of these discussions, a teacher made the following remarks:

> "... blacks were taught by slaveholders, if at all. Now we have good schools .... There is no excuse for some of you not to go down in history as being famous ...." She explains why "we have so many different shades of color in our race. Somewhere in the line, there is usually a white person." The teacher explains that singing is a natural talent that black people have. "We don't have to prepare too much to do it." She says another thing is that black people are natural dancers. "It's in our heritage from Africa. We black people have natural talents for singing, dancing, and sports. Don't let being poor keep you from doing something you like."

In another class, a teacher gave a lesson on races from the anthropology section of the social studies texts. In this excerpt, part of which has already been cited in Chapter 8, the teacher talked about three "races," the Caucasoid, the Negroid, and the Mongoloid.

> The teacher is explaining how racial stocks may not stay pure. They stay pure only if they are isolated. "... A Hindu may marry a white or a Negro may marry a white; it's happened! When they marry their traits get mixed." A black girl, Rose, who very seldom participates, ask a question that seems important to her, "What do you call people that are mixed?" The teacher answers "I don't know. I gues it depends on what culture you go with. If Negro and white marry and the children stay with the black culture, then they'd be black. If Chinese and white, then they'd probably go by white unless they went to China."

Another teacher asked about people who had been segregated. In the ensuing discussion several students talked about blacks having to sit in the back of buses, and to use separate water fountains and entrances. Other events, which happen outside school, such as the television production of Alex Haley's Roots (1976) or a factory workers' strike in Bradford also provide impetus for teacher-directed class discussions related to social race.

Since teachers most often provide students with opportunities to express only those beliefs which relate to historical conditions among blacks and whites, students rarely get teacher feedback on their own beliefs. At times, they raise questions which go unanswered or, in some cases the answer given seems to confuse rather than clarify the matter for the student. For example, it is not clear whether Rose, the girl who asked about a name for people who are "mixed," really had her question answered. Another time a teacher asked the class to point out where Africa was located on the map of the world. Most of the students pointed to the right place but a white boy called out: "Africa's in the Unites States, isn't it?" The teacher, who had begun to talk about Africa after most of the class had correctly located it, called back: "no," and indicated that Africa was a separate continent. Then the teacher continued her talk. The boy appeared quite confused about Africa's location and pursued the question by asking it to students sitting nearby. After a few shrugs and tentative negative responses, he gave up but looked perplexed.

Such questions, as well as other comments, show clearly that students do have erroneous beliefs and lack specific information about one another. For example, a white girl described to one of the researchers how funny she thought blacks at the school talked. She accused them of not being able to pronounce words correctly and of using words in "crazy" ways. On another occasion, after a special sex education class for girls, one of the white girls expressed concern about her cousin who had a white baby which started to turn brown. After a discussion about who the baby's father might be, the teacher explained that all babies are white when first born. The girl seemed surprised by this statement. A white teacher recounted the story of a black student who had come up to the teacher privately and asked a question about white funerals. The student was bothered by how fast white people seemed to bury their dead. The teacher confessed to wondering about black funeral practices. The girl explained to the teacher that black families often waited several days before burying someone so that relatives who lived many miles away might attend. The white teacher told the child that oftentimes white relatives who lived far away did not try to come to funerals. Apparently, both teacher and student gained useful information from this exchange.

In one class, the teacher had assigned students to prepare reports on famous black personages. They were to do the research at home and then give their report orally in class. On the day the reports were due, the teacher called on Henry to give his report on Martin Luther King. Henry, a white boy, explained that he was not able to locate any information on Martin Luther King in the books his parents had at home, so he had prepared his report on Martin Luther, apparently figuring it was the next best thing to do. The teacher, who is black, was incredulous, demanding to know how Henry could have mistaken someone who lived in the 16th century for someone who was so famous, whom they had discussed, and who had been alive only ten years ago. Henry exhibited no sign of recognizing the enormity of his error.

Students are not alone in lacking information related to institutions or heroes familiar to members of the other social race. In still another classroom situation, the social separateness which characterizes black-white relations outside school was clearly indicated. The teacher asked the students to give the names of the schools they knew of in Bradford and then in North Carolina as a whole. The teacher, who was black, nodded her approval as the students called out the names of other Bradford public schools. A number of blacks started naming black church-sponsored day care centers, kindergartens, and black colleges. The teacher acknowledged all of these but hesitated in accepting the names of white private schools and colleges offered by the white students. She indicated that she was unfamiliar with many white schools in the area and changed the subject.

Teacher-Controlled Symbolic Presentations

A second avenue whereby teachers can effect socialization is that of symbolic presentations; the pictorial, dramatic, or ritualistic presentation of beliefs and values about social-race identity and social-race relations on bulletin boards and in drama, individual performances, films, ceremonies, and stories. While symbolic presentations are not included in Gearing's interactional model of education, they are presented here because of their importance to the study of cultural transmission. Gearing's theory includes the idea of "cultural premises" or complex underlying assumptions which are embedded in many events, but he does not really explain how such cultural premises are acquired. In other anthropological approaches, however, symbolic presentations have long been recognized as important elements in the transmission of cultural premises (Eggan 1956, Peacock 1968, and Spindler 1974b). This long-standing theme guided us to include these presentations as potential elements of social-race socialization.

As mentioned at the beginning of part IV, teacher-conceived bulletin boards and other room decorations only occasionally include representations of people distinguishable according to social race. One black teacher, however, maintains a permanent display (something quite rare among these teachers most of whom felt it necessary to change decorations almost every month) with pictures of both black and white athletes, performers, and personalities. It is interesting to note in this regard that a number of the teachers took bulletin board ideas from commercial booklets which they purchased on their own.

In-class programs or presentations directed by teachers usually involve the dramatization of stories or plays read in class or the presentation of reports on special events, subjects, or people. With few exceptions, such as the black history reports mentioned earlier, these events are not organized around social race. However, the topic may arise or be represented during the course of such an event. For example, one teacher regularly asked students to stand up in front of the class and report on the library books they had read. One day, a black girl recounted a story of a black boy whose family moved to a neighborhood where he was assigned to a predominantly white school. The story described the boy's initial difficulty in making friends and how he eventually resolved the problem by joining in sports activities at his new school. Although questions and comments on stories were fairly common during these presentations, neither the teacher nor the students responded at the conclusion of this report. In a filmstrip entitled "Acceptance of Differences" shown in a fifth grade class, famous persons, both black and white,were briefly described with the point drawn that people have different qualities for which they should be appreciated.

While classroom rituals differentiate boys and girls in that most teachers have the girls line up first, followed by the boys, to wash their hands, go to the bathroom, or leave the room for other activities, rituals are not organized around social-race identity. One teacher began her class each moring with a ritual that included the pledge of allegiance and some patriotic or quasi-religious songs. One song, considered by the students to be the teacher's favorite was "Let There Be Peace on Earth." Although not necessarily linked to the teacher's feelings about social-race relations, the lyrics of the song, one line of which is "as God is our father, all of us are brothers," are suggestive in that regard.

In the course of classroom presentations by the teachers, two mock events were staged which matched students of different social races. These events, although not devised to transmit such ideas, perhaps served to familiarize students with possibilities in cross-race interactions. Once a teacher illustarted the meaning of a conjunction by staging a wedding ceremony. A white boy was assigned the role of the groom and a black girl played the bride. Cross-color assignments to play Mary and Joseph in the Christmas program may have had a similar effect.

Finally, though we have no direct indication of this fact, students are probably also learning about black-white adult relations by observing the behavior of their teachers with members of the opposite social race. Here it is quite obvious that close informal teacher friendships usually involve members of the same social-race group.

In brief, the tendency to restrict discussion of social race to certain contexts, the confusion over information about the opposite social-race group, the scarcity of symbolic presentations related to social race and social-race relations, and finally the lack of cross-color role models for students to emulate, are all suggestive of the fact that teachers provide students with information which is often inadequate for reformulating personal social-race beliefs. While these patterns hold true for most Grandin classrooms, there are differences in the way individual teachers perceive their role in social-race socialization.

TEACHER DIFFERENCES

Contrary to expectations of school desegregation as they are voiced by some in Bradford who see the present as a time to come together, to effect a new beginning,and to help blacks and whites learn to get along with each other (see Chapter 4), expectations about instructing students about social race seem to be varied, leaving teachers on their own to decide how to handle the situation.

In the course of teacher interviews conducted by the researchers, teachers at Grandin agreed that, with the exception of a social section on black history, instruction in the meaning of social race was not expected by the school administration or the community and therefore that the decision to do so is left to individual teachers. As has already been shown in Chapter 8 on the meaning of social race at Grandin, teachers differ somewhat in the significance they attach to the place of social race in the schoool. Their differences are also apparent in viewpoints on the importance of teaching about social race. For example, following the lead set by textbooks which incorporate black history as a separate part of the social studies curriculum on the United States, most white teachers feel that classroom discussion of social race during these special social studies periods is adequate. Black teachers, on the other hand, are more likely to believe that instruction in the meaning of social race is more important. They are especially concerned that black students take pride in their heritage as blacks. In an interview, one black teacher stated that black children should be knowledgable about their heritage and proud of it. The teacher explained that when black heritage was skipped over, "people feel ashamed" and do not know who they are. Another black teacher felt that some Grandin teachers did not place enough emphasis on teaching the meaning of social race.

Differences in the importance attached to bicultural competnece also exist. They are revealed most clearly in the manner in which teachers attempt to deal with cross-color conflict among students. In the interviews, both black and white teachers expressed sensitivity to the possibility that student conflicts can develop into symbolic encounters if given social-race interpretations. Teachers are concerned that students do not interpret conflicts in this way. Their different conceptualizations of the meaning of social race in the school, however, lead teachers to different strategies for handling the spector of social-race conflict in the school setting.

Some black teachers feel it is important to prevent interpersonal conflicts based on social race. They see these conflicts arising out of differences in cultural styles. Thus, they feel that teachers must first be aware of black-white cultural differences, especially in behavioral styles which may be evidenced in the classroom or other school situations; and secondly that they should pass such information on to students. For example, one black teacher felt that some of the white students at Grandin had a way of verbally arguing with which blacks were unaccustomed. The teacher suggested that whereas other whites would often see the initiation of the argument as a signal to argue back verbally, black students usually saw it as a signal to fight back physically. This reaction on the part of blacks, in return, was not always understood by whites and could be interpreted as a sort of generalized hostility. By the same token, failure to fight back in the eyes of other blacks is sometimes seen as a sign of weakness. The teacher who described this situation felt that teachers must be able to recognize when a white student is unintentionally provoking a black, or vice versa, in order to prevent a conflict. By way of comparison, a white teacher remarked to one of the researchers that whites, especially girls, are sometimes frightened by the "physical orientation" (proxemic patterns) of some of the black students. Thus, if a black boy inadventently brushed his arm against a white girl, she might think he was trying to provoke a confrontation. Both of these teachers see evidence of social-race differences exhibited in the school and are concerned that misunderstanding of those differences not produce conflict among students.

The white teacher mentioned above is somewhat of an exception to the rule for whites. They generally have a tendency to feel that social-race differences are insignificant in producing conflict between students.

Rather, they attribute conflicts to personality clashes, to bad moods, or to disputes which naturally arise between children. They often state such things as, "I never see black and white ... only children to be taught." These teachers do recognize that students sometimes associate feelings of prejudice and discrimination with conflicts. As a result, a white teacher may feel the need to discuss social-race differences as a prerequisite to getting down to the real issue, but does not usually consider those differences themselves to be the heart of the problem. One white teacher said, "I want my students to learn to appreciate each other as individuals, not as blacks and whites." Most of the white teachers, then, seem to prefer to deal with social-race relations only after they have been pushed into the foreground by students. They are willing to answer direct questions about social-race differences (some do this to a much greater extent and with more informational content than others) and to intervene when social race seems to be an issue in a conflict, but they otherwise do not feel it necessary to explicitly address the question of social-race differences.

Thus, some teachers, most of whom are black, see themselves as socializing children to acknowledge and accept cultural differences in the school and to value their respective heritages. The other teachers, on the other hand, are oriented toward socialization to overcome what they see as superficial problems related to social race in order to move on to other things.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUMMARY

In summary, opportunities for explicit instruction on social-race identities and the etiquette of social-race relations are rarely realized at Grandin. Perhaps following the lack of direction from the district, or estimates of parent sensitivity, teachers, for the most part, allow students to develop their own beliefs about social-race identities and relations. Black history month, as urged upon the teachers by the district, is the only period during which such subjects are likely to receive explicit attention in all classes.

One difficulty which teachers face in transmitting such beliefs lies in the lack of a suitable model for black-white relations in the society at large. Existing models include antagonism between the two groups, a de-emphasis of differences, and a focus upon positive features of both groups. The latter two models are more common in portraying contemporary relations at Grandin, with teachers emphasizing either one or the other.

A focus on positive features of one or the other social-race group creates a somewhat awkward situation in a mixed classroom since one group is left out and the two groups in the end appear somehow unrelated. For example, the teacher who exhorted the black students to set high goals for themselves despite their poverty was heard by whites along with the blacks in the room. In this exhortation, as well as in the study of black heroes and black history, a sense of the social separation of blacks and whites is conveyed except insofar as the whites are portrayed as past oppressors of blacks.

The other posture frequently adopted by Grandin teachers is to avoid explicit reference to and therefore to downplay or discount the existence of any significant cross-color differences. This attitude is promulgated by teachers who ignore social race as a factor affecting what goes on in present-day situations; by those who shift students' away from social race to other considerations; and by those who present social-race problems as a thing of the past which, though not entirely overcome, are nowhere near the concern they once were. In all these ways, teachers de-emphasize the importance of social-race identity and cultural differences. They, unlike the first group, do not even tend to encourage bicultural competence in the area of interpersonal conflict.

Both these approaches tend to leave the exchange of information about social race, and especially about positive and close cross-color relationships, outside of consideration. This situation requires that students rely on social-race beliefs learned at home or from peers at school and on enculturation to bicultural competence as promoted by their peers. The next chapter further discusses the role of peers in the socialization process.

CHAPTER 10: CROSS-COLOR PEER SOCIALIZATION AT GRANDIN

Peer socialization is an important mechanism of cultural transmission precisely because of the potential for societal change which it introduces. The occurrence of "generation gaps" in the United States, for example, are to be expected given the crucial areas of knowledge transmission entrusted to young people in this country. From one another, children learn meanings associated with and styles of sexual behavior, drug use, music appreciation, work and play, intimate relationships, and, in some cases, political views. Although adults attempt to influence children's behavior in these areas, much of this socialization rests in the hands of generation mates.

An interesting parameter of peer socialization is that much of it occurs in and around school and school-related activities. This fact is of special importance in the case of desegregated schools. For children like those in Bradford who live in segregated neighborhoods and rarely have the opportunity to interact with children of different social classes, different social races, or different ethnic backgrounds, school may constitute the *only* setting in which interethnic or cross-social-race peer socialization is possible.

As described in the previous chapter, the transmission of bicultural competence and social-race beliefs by Grandin adults is a heterogeneous and possibly contradictory process. Here, we turn to peer socialization: what do Grandin students learn from one another about social race? Again, Gearing's model of information distribution serves as a guide to organizing and analyzing the material in that we are investigating the possible opportunities (that is, the events) where peer socialization about social race could occur, as well as the barriers which operate in some events to prevent the biculturalization of both white and black students. In the last chapter, we considered teacher-focused events and symbolic presentations in which the teacher played a central role. In this chapter, we consider additional teacher-structured events in which the teacher's role is less direct, as well as student-organized events which contribute to social-race socialization.

TEACHER-ORGANIZED EVENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

As described in Chapter 7, the student system at Grandin flourishes within the confines of an adult-dominated structure. Similarly, peer socialization proceeds partially through students who evaluate, monitor, coerce, provide explanations for, and answer questions of their peers in the context of events and relationships organized by the teachers. During commonplace events such as class participation, extracurricular student groups such as patrols, and extra-classroom activities such as PE, teachers provide the framework but the socialization is by peers.

Styles of school behavior or performance, it has been argued by others, are influenced by cultural background (Fuchs 1969; Cazden, et al. 1972; Polgar 1974; Tindall 1975). Patterns of communicative behavior as well as cultural premises are expressed in both. In the opportunities for peer socialization in the classroom and on the playground, teacher structuring sets the parameters but students have leeway to attempt to socialize one another according to their own styles and meanings. These styles are derived in part from the students' home cultures.

During PE most activities involve structured games. Though a particular game may be suggested by the teacher, the style of play is not. At Grandin, the style tends to be very performance-oriented and competitive. The black students who stand out as athletically accomplished are able to dominate these games as they are generally better than and outnumber the whites in any event. The black students enjoy berating fellow players who do poorly and loudly applauding others who do well. Whites respond to the criticism that they often encounter because of their poor performance by dropping out or not joining in team activities of this type. Black students who are less accomplished than other members of the class sometimes do the same, however, the whites are more likely to be sitting on the sidelines. Not all drop out. In at least one case, a white boy practiced at home to improve his baseball game so that he might be accepted on what was a predominantly black team.

Besides the emphasis on personal skill as reflected in praise and criticism, there is also an emphasis on personal performance in team games as expressed by the style of play. Often in softfall games, for example, the person who retrieves a batted ball will run long distances to the base to tag the person out rather than throw the ball to a teammate. Similarly, in basketball games, passing to a teammate who is in a more strategic position to shoot does not appear to be a big concern. In many ways, the games are structures of individual performances.

Classroom situations also allow opportunities for peer socialization. In many situations, class response is constrained to producing a single answer to a question, reading a passage out loud, or in some way reproducing material to which one has been exposed. Where students do become engaged in longer arguments or discussions, some suggestions of differences in styles among the students emerge. The black students at Grandin sometimes develop arguments which depend upon the re-examination of objects, incidents, or facts from another perspective. For example, Gwen, and other black students in her class developed the following argument during a social studies period.

> The class is talking about factory workers. Gwen: "I always thought a 'foreman' and a 'supervisor' were the same thing." Teacher: "They're pretty close." Someone asks a question related to material in the book: "Does the owner work?" T.J.: "Why should he work? He has people to work for him." Jan: "And he is wealthy. He already has money." Gwen: Supervisors are lazy." T.J.: "My mother must be lazy because she boss-man down at ______." Someone corrects him: "Boss lady!" Gwen: "My momma supervisor. She just sit up in her office drinking coffee in her office." Teacher: "Probably a coffee break." Gwen: "No, I go there around four in the afternoon." The teacher tries to contradict the idea that supervisors are lazy. George: "My mother has a supervisor." Teacher goes on to try to show that supervisors are needed because people don't do their jobs and so the supervisor has to keep on them. Gwen: "Oh, so you our supervisor!" Teacher: "I'm your teacher."

The following argument is an example of another such monologue produced by Tricia. At lunch one day, Tricia started telling one of the researchers that it just did not make sense for teachers to hit children.

The researcher reports:

> I was trying to find out why she felt that teachers shouldn't hit children. She said because it made the children mad and then they wanted to do something to get back at the teacher like slash the teacher's tires or hit the teacher in the stomach or something like that. She told a story that had happened at another school where a first grader had been spanked and had gone out on the playground and taken a fork and punctured the teacher's tires. Tricia continued elaborating her point that the one action naturally causes an in-kind reaction.

This example of a style of reasoning or discussion, and the one before, is not as often represented among white students. They, instead, tend to take opportunities for long discussions in class to demonstrate their grasp on certain information. Their arguments or discussions tend to be over the correctness of facts at issue rather than elaboration and extrapolation of particular themes. Three white students, Morton, Mike, and Ruth, for example, had a heated exchange as follows concerning the origin of the tomahawk:

> Morton: "The white man showed the Indians how to make a tomahawk." Mike: "They did not, the Indians made their own tomahawks and guns." Morton: "Yes, they did -- the white man gave the Indians tomahawks and guns." Mike: "I know the white man gave the Indians guns but why should they give them tomahawks? The white man didn't have tomahawks." Claude, a black boy interjects: "What does a white man need a tomahawk for?" Mike: "You don't see white men throwing tomahawks at Indians or Indians throwing guns at white men." Ruth: "What Morton's trying to say is that before the white men came, the Indians didn't have any reason to fight; well, except for the Creeks and a few others they fought each other for food but that was OK. Anyway, the white man gave the Indians the idea for the tomahawk." Mike (to Morton): "Can you prove that the white men gave the Indians the tomahawk because I can prove they didn't? Just ask an Indian." (To Ruth): "Where did you read that?" Ruth: "Any good history book will tell you." Morton: "Alright, Mike, I

> challenge you by Friday to find proof that the white man did not give the Indians the tomahawk and I'll prove the opposite."

Another time Ruth was giving a lesson on the heart. When she finished, Morton announced that Ruth was wrong.

> Morton goes up to the board, points to the diagram of the heart that Ruth has drawn and disputes her statement about the place where the blood leaves the heart. At this point, Mike rushes up to the front of the room with the book and reads about the disputed material. Ruth and Morton both yell out: "It does not!" Morton marks on Ruth's diagram to show where he thinks the blood comes out. Mike goes "Oh no ... look what he did!" Mike tries to erase Morton's marks.

This argument went on for several minutes until the class had to leave to go to lunch.

These exchanges are important in another way in that they represent a competitiveness in academic spheres that is not normally observed at Grandin. Although students do not allow one another to perform in the classroom so that their performance greatly outshines their status in the student system,[1] in general, students are able to respond to the teacher's questions without too much fear of being derided by other students if they are incorrect. Although students will sometimes chide one another for giving the same answer that a classmate has given, we have observed a number of cases in which an answer, even an incorrect one, is repeated two or three times in a row with no criticism from other students. Unlike the case with Mike and Morton above, students often do not challenge one another on the correctness of a response.

One teacher tried an experiment which not only seemed to engage the students to a great degree but also provided more information on the aspect of student corrections. The teacher allowed volunteers to prepare questions on homework and lead recitations on the questions in class. Some of the black students who lead class recitation rejected classmates' answers which were not repeated exactly as presented in the book. They would reject material paraphrased from the book. Some of the white students who received this negative response later went to the teacher to ask her if their answers were really incorrect.

These classroom episodes may have less impact than those which occur in the PE classes owing to the fact that there is an inducement in PE to learn the style of the dominating students, namely that it is uncomfortable to play otherwise. In the classroom on the other hand, except in a limited number of classes such as ET and certain discussions arranged by other teachers, there is not a great deal of opportunity for students to practice argumentative styles concerning academic subject matter. And, when there is such an opportunity, the inducements to adopt a particular style are often unclear. In the case of the student-lead class, for example, it did not appear that those who demanded word-for-word repetition of the text learned that paraphrases could be accepted as correct. In other words, there is less peer pressure to learn classroom styles of response than there is to learn styles of response in games.

Until now, the discussion has concerned opportunities for peer socialization in which students learn about each other's home culture indirectly, as expressed through styles of action in teacher-structured school events. There are also teacher-structured events which permit a direct exchange of information on beliefs, concepts, values, preferences, and points of view about extra-school experiences. Sometimes during subjects such as social studies, teachers schedule or allow responses which include social and personal information as content. Class discussions in Grandin's fifth and sixth grade classes sometimes consist of monologues on one's personal experiences triggered by, though not necessarily logically integrated with the subject at hand or the last person's monologue. Through these accounts of personal experiences, it is possible to describe an important life experience, e.g., loss of a sister in a fire; an event, e.g., a hog killing; or to ask a question of particular concern, e.g., what is a child of a black father and a white mother called? It is difficult to determine how much information listeners glean from these personal accounts and concerns, but in some cases questions are asked about unfamiliar concepts. For example in one sequence a black girl referred to her mother's "main man." A white student asked for and received an explanation of the term.

Some of the teachers also schedule, on a crisis basis, what one calls a "class meeting." These meetings focus on a discussion by the students of students' patterns of behavior and unpleasant social situations at school. Topics have included ideas about what to do if someone "keeps messing with you all the time" or how to handle the disliked behavior of particular individuals. An example of a role discussed at these meetings is that of "instigator" (our word). As explained by one teacher to the class, an instigator is someone who "likes to start things" between other people. An instigator knows who's in charge and is careful to act as nice as possible in their presence. When these powerful people, such as a teacher or the principal are not around, an instigator may try to start a fight or otherwise disrupt things by spreading rumors or teasing in such a way as to pit students against each other. These tactics are usually successful at provoking other students to do things which will get them in trouble if they are seen by a school adult or if other students tell on them. At this point the clever instigator, if incriminated by other students, feigns any knowledge of consciously initiating the trouble and the teacher, impressed by the instigator's otherwise exemplary behavior, is inclined to believe the instigator innocent or at least to focus most of his or her wrath on those who were actually caught doing something wrong. One regular teacher described a period of time during which a large number of her students got in trouble when they went to one of the special-subject teachers' classes. The regular teacher was puzzled as to why this situation arose. In talking to some of the students, the teacher determined that one of the girls in the class was angering other students by calling them names when the special-subject teacher was out of earshot. The other students would then get mad and make some noise, thereby attracting the attention of the special-subject teacher. The regular teacher felt that since the girl always acted so shy and quiet around the special-subject teacher that this teacher never believed the other students who accused the girl of "starting things." Though both black and white students play the role of instigator, it may be more successfully exploited by black students with other blacks and by white students with black students rather than by blacks with whites or whites with other whites. Some black students, for whom demonstrating the ability to stand up for oneself is highly valued, can easily be roused by an instigator; whites, for whom this identity is less important, may simply ignore the initiator.

Besides the activities involved in class participation and discussion, teachers are instrumental in establishing on-going dyadic student relationships which provide opportunities for an exchange of information. One such relationship is a helper relationship. Although some students organize themselves into such relationships, teachers request students to help one another with school work and assign help givers to help needers. Often these are cross-color assignments. Especially in classrooms where the teacher repeatedly sets up such a situation, the students tend to follow the same pattern without instructions from the teacher. In the exchanges between help givers and help needers which were observed, the pattern was modeled upon the teacher-student interaction pattern. That is, the help giver would act like the classroom teacher, while the help needer would act like he or she normally would in response to the classroom teacher. This relationship works perhaps because it is modeled on an accepted pattern.

Not all the helping relationships fostered by the teachers involve classwork. One teacher, for example, noticed that a white girl seemed interested in participating in the Friday afternoon dancing, but did not know how to dance. The teacher asked two of the black girls to teach her to dance, allowing them to use a vacant room so the learner could practice without being embarrassed.

Teachers, as indicated earlier, also affect student relationships in more indirect ways. Within-class ability grouping, for example, seems to affect friendship patterns. Only one teacher, during the two year period of the study, established ability groups that were maintained during the entire day. The desks were grouped into inward-facing circles according to the teacher's estimate of the student's ability. This patterning by the teacher did seem to affect student friendships as Rist's (1973) study suggests it might. Students became friends within groups. These groups were mixed as to social race, although this teacher had placed mostly whites in the upper groups and mostly blacks in the lower groups. Student interaction patterns followed these groups. As did the teacher described by Rist in the St. Louis kindergarten, this one maintained a greater social distance between herself and the lower-ability groups, on the average. Unlike the class described by Rist, however, the lower status of the lower-ability groups was not commented upon by class members although the higher group seemed to ignore the lower. Perhaps the more negative behavior would have eventually been manifested had the arrangement been maintained all year. Instead the teacher left the school in March and the replacement reorganized the classroom. Although some ability grouping was practiced by the replacement, it was only for particular subjects and thus did not seem to have the same effects as the earlier grouping.

Other teacher groupings were observed to have somewhat similar effects to that attributed by Scrupski (1975) to extra-curricular activities in high school. The establishment of one group of students as in some way special draws attention to them and sometimes creates a group among which friendships form. The patrol forces at Grandin, for example, gave students a role of authority that set them apart from the others. This was especially true for the girls on the Powderpuff patrol since this activity was visible to a majority of the students. Probably the effects would have been more pronounced had the girls all had insignia of some type to wear and more frequent meetings. Other special groups, such as a baseball team and a bulletin board brigade, were created as well.

To the degree that these groups are small, of homogeneous status, and treated as a unit, there seems to be a resulting cohesion. In other words, in a case where the teacher sets up a situation in which a small number of students are treated as a group, equally liable to reward or the teacher's displeasure depending upon how well they accomplish the job, there appears to be an effect on the relationships of those involved. The officers of the Powderpuff patrol are a case in point, as are the class officers in at least one classroom. The student-elected officers are held responsible by the teacher-sponsors for the behavior of the other students while the teacher is absent from the classroom. In each case, students chose both black and white students to be officers. Because of their interdependency, the difficulty of the task, and perhaps the high status of the positions, the students cooperate to achieve the task, even to the point of verbally instructing one another in how to maintain class order. For example, one day the class president, Ruth, was monitoring the class while the teacher was out of the room. Apparently the class was supposed to continue the lesson, which happened to be on adverbs, in the teacher's absence. When things started to get a little out of hand, Tricia intervened and began instructing the class in what to do next. She told Ruth: "You stay up front since someone may get out of line." Ruth did as she was told. During the rest of the time that the teacher was out of the room, Ruth stood at the board ready to write down the names of students who misbehaved and Tricia directed the class through the lesson. This type of instruction seems to be particularly needed by white officers who have difficulty in maintaining order in the majority black classroom.

We, as has been described previously, inadvertently created a special group by singling out some ten students for special interviews. Because of the special treatment that they received, being taken places, given gifts, and so forth they became a special group. As one explained to a researcher, "Martha can't act nasty to me because we are in this group together."

Membership in these special groups which are of homogeneous status and which depend on some degree of teamwork for reward, provides a basis and an opportunity for a relationship which is not available otherwise. Through this actual and symbolic separation of a small sub-set of students, there is created a greater potential for a bond. The most interesting aspect of this phenomenon for our study is that this greater potential for a bond occurs across social-race lines. These special student groups created by the adults provide situations in which significant cross-social-race relationships may form.

The influence of having a homogeneous status is particularly clear in the case of the cohesion of the nine homeroom classes in which sociometric data were gathered. For the students which we were observing, the top two cohesion scores for regular classrooms were obtained by those students in combination classes where theirs was the higher-status age. One of the sixth grade classes which had sixth graders and fifth graders was highest. Its cohesion score was .527. (See Table 10.1 for class cohesion scores.)

TABLE 10.1: CLASS COHESION SCORES* AS INDICATED BY CHOICE OF WORK PARTNERS

1975-76	
4th-5th Combination (fifth graders only)**	.272
5th (1)	.139
5th (2)	.131
5th (3)	.186
5th-6th Combination (fifth graders only)	.109
1976-77	
5th-6th Combination (sixth graders only)	.527
6th (1)	.150
6th (2)	.213
6th (3)	.168

*Computed by dividing the number of pairs which mutually chose one another by the number of pairs in the class which could have chosen each other.

**The scores for the combination classes are based on the students who were at the grade level we were observing.

The next highest score was obtained by 5th grade students in a 4th-5th combination. These students had higher status in the classroom and that status differential was marked by the teacher. In combination classes, the grades are grouped together and the teacher sometimes makes use of the status differential to motivate the two groups. For example, a teacher might comment to a group, "Come on 5th graders, if you don't answer, I'm going to let the 4th graders do it." The students in this situation, when asked to choose those with whom they wanted to work in class, chose each other at a high rate.[2]

This effect of the creation of a homogeneous status group does not appear unless the group is treated as a group. The third combination class we observed had a small subset of the fifth grade cohort with which we began the research. Although these students were homogeneous in age status and constituted a small group, they did not form a cohesive unit. This fifth grade group, in fact, produced the lowest cohesion score of all nine classes. The teacher, in this case, used a control technique which might be called shaming. She monitored the behavior of the students constantly, criticizing the behavior often in terms of more general personality characteristics of the student. This practice, plus other disruptions of the class caused by the need for a substitute over a long period of time, seemed to produce a situation in which students were likely to pick on and tease one another rather than form friendships.

Although it is impossible to tease out the exact relationships among the variables with the type of data that was collected or to generalize beyond the classes observed, it does seem clear that the study supports the argument that in schools the creation of special homogeneous status groups which are treated as a group is likely to provide a basis for a significant relationship among members that might not otherwise be present. For desegregated schools, according to our data, this process creates a basis that is not eliminated by social-race differences. In fact, to some extent, it is one of the few processes that does decrease the importance of social race in student interaction. It is suggestive that in high schools where informal systems are much more clearly segregated than at Grandin, some of the few conditions under which significant relationships are formed across social-race lines are on the football teams. (See Kimball and Wagley 1974.) The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that there are special conditions under which social race is less of a barrier in establishing relationships and that one set of these conditions involves the creation of a small special group that has certain privileges and status within the rest of the system.

STUDENT-ORGANIZED EVENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

The initiation of student-organized events is held in check by school adults. All day long, including the entire lunch period when teachers eat with their classes, school adults are in charge. Only when their teacher is out of the room or they are in the halls or the restroom, are students unsupervised. Although there are periods in which students may choose among certain activities and there are underground activities that go on simultaneously with teacher-organized activities, students are very much constrained in what they can do. There are some relatively free times before and after school, when the students are neither at home nor at school, but these are of little significance for cross-color peer socialization. Immediately at the end of the school day, buses carry off the black students. Because of this, student-structured events which are important in socialization are those which occur at school.

Despite the limitations placed on student autonomy, informal student groups and dyads manage to organize unofficial events during the school day. They congregate to talk, to do school work, to play games, to dance, to court, and to fight. In these student-structured events, participants reinforce one another for beliefs and performances on a range of areas including emotional behavior, clothing styles, inter-sex behavior, academic performance, religious beliefs, styles of talking (e.g., when to curse and when not to), performance on academic tasks, and abilities at verbal exchange, joking, dancing, musical tastes, and threatening behavior.

As described in previous chapters, at Grandin there are student-recognized groups (i.e., "bunches of people who hang around together") and dyads (e.g., people who are recognized as, whether real or fictive, "cousins" or "best friends"). There are also groups of a more casual type ("just friends") which may congregate only infreuqently to talk, fight, play games or whose contact is limited to greetings exchanged in the halls. Most of the student-recognized groups/dyads are homogeneous by social race. A higher proportion of the more casual style of group association are color heterogeneous.

In elementary schools where there tend to be few provisions for student privacy or areas where students can establish territories large enough to prevent being overheard or seen, group events are public affairs. Thus, student-structured events tend to be open to spectators. It is relatively easy to intervene in or just look on when groups are playing games such as "jackrocks" or "penny pitch" during a break, dancing during a party, courting, or fighting. . In dancing, whites tend to be the interveners. During parties, a group of black girls may exhibit new dances, teaching one another the steps. Whites sometimes stand by and watch or they may join in, acting the clown. Spectators from afar have been observed to surreptitiously practice. Whites are also able to overhear black verbal games or routines such as ritualized insults which are swapped both in fun and as an expression of hostility. White students sometimes try to enter these exchanges. White observers also learn that a charge that someone was talking about somebody's mother can rally friends around for a fight or transfer a teacher's anger over a fight to the opposing party.

In games, interveners make comments or simply watch. In courting activity, interveners play roles as intermediaries. A black boy, for example, might carry a message to a white girl and transmit her reply to the white boy. Students sometimes identify couples publically, both black and white, by writing their names on the board or discussing them at lunch.

Fights always draw spectators and often interveners who attempt to stop the fight. The interest in fights develops whether the combatants are of the same or different social races.

Through these spectator and intervener roles, non-members of groups are exposed to accepted methods of acting in given events. Black students are able to observe and, in some cases, intervene in the courting, fighting, talking, and other events staged by white groups and vice versa. In later grades, when the schools are larger and students have more freedom of movement and access to more private areas, the possibility of learning through observation may be less.

STUDENT-CONTROLLED SYMBOLIC PRESENTATIONS

The third avenue of interethnic peer socialization is that of student-controlled symbolic presentations such as student-designed bulletin boards, dramas, and fantasies. Though theoretically important, student-structured symbolic presentations at Grandin will occupy very little of this chapter as they are practically non-existent. Despite the possibilities for including student-structured symbolic presentations in official school activities, this does not occur: most bulletin boards are teacher-planned; most of the plays and programs enacted by the students are teacher-designed and directed; and all the presentations of stories during class time come from books that the students have read or from TV shows. Student-devised stories are not officially circulated in school except in one resource class which not all students take.[3] Art work is somewhat of an exception since some creativity is encouraged and the products are often displayed.

It is interesting to note that in the areas where students do contribute their creations, they sometimes include aspects of social-race identities omitted by their teachers. In the case of art work, for example, it is not uncommon for students to represent social race in the drawings they produce. Talent Day, an event staged by the music teacher where students were allowed to structure their own performances, provided two examples of humorous references to social race made in a mixed class. As pointed out in Chapter 8, references to social race at which both blacks and whites could laugh was a relatively unique occurrence. Aside from these few opportunities provided by the teachers, students have relative freedom of control over symbolic presentations as represented in their clothing styles, the things they write on their desks or the bathroom walls, and in the stories they tell in informal student events. Black students at Grandin, as a rule, show more awareness of and interest in clothing styles than the white students. The story tellers that entertain at lunch are also more likely to be black. Graffiti in the girls' bathroom includes information about interpersonal relationships such as "I hate Pat" along with sexually taboo words. The boys' bathroom primarily contains sexually taboo words. These sources are limited since it is difficult for black students to learn from whites the meanings they attach to their clothing styles, and vice versa. This situation occurs because blacks and whites are not often in mixed friendship groups.

Thus, for the most part, students have very limited opportunities to construct symbolic presentations which have wide exposure to their peers. Although these are potentially powerful forces of communication about cultural premises, the structure of the school restricts this type of communication.

SOCIAL BARRIERS TO INTERETHNIC PEER SOCIALIZATION

As has been alluded to in the description above, the opportunities for interethnic peer socialization which exist at Grandin are not always realized. Socialization is restricted in student-controlled events because informal student groups tend to segregate themselves by social race. Although outsiders may be permitted observer or intervener roles in the events staged by these informal student groups, they are not responded to as potential members and thus are not encouraged to master the knowledge of group members in areas such as styles of verbal expression, dancing, and clothing styles. Thus, they do not become bicultural as a result of cross-color interaction; nor do they have the opportunity to learn social-race beliefs from other than friends of their own social race. The final section of this chapter is addressed to an examination of the type of barriers that prevent open exchange in these informal student-structured events, including conditions under which the barriers are less in evidence.

To continue with Gearing's model, we find that social barriers are manifested in three distinctive forms, two of which are relevant here. The first type results in a "selective" exchange while the second results in a "proforma" exchange.

A selective exchange occurs when one party to the interaction, as a result of his/her social identity, is constrained to a restricted role in the event. That is, some of the information displayed in the event is considered to be the exclusive property of particular social identities. If the information is displayed by a person having inappropriate or different social characteristics, the meaning of the information is changed. In the case of social race, selective exchange could be expected if there is event-relevant information which changes meaning depending on the skin color of the person displaying it. In the past, selective exchange was characteristic of black-white relations in the South. In interactions between blacks and whites, the relative statuses of participants was continually expressed by the information which whites, but not blacks could display and vice versa. Certain information was not expected from blacks and in some cases was proscribed on the basis that it was the exclusive property of whites. The picture at Grandin yields little trace of these old superordinate/subordinate patterns. (See also Kimball and Wagley 1974.)

The children in this elementary school are sensitive to inappropriate displays of information. They criticize fellow students for displaying information not commensurate with their social identities. Disapproving remarks are made, for example about students who go about acting like the teachers, or girls who act like boys. There is also some information which is exclusively "white" information and some which is exclusively "black" information, but the areas of information associated with social-race identities are fairly limited.

Students certainly associate physical appearances with social identities. Black students in particular comment if someone, for example, looks "almost white," "like a white girl," or a "tar baby." It is also possible to talk in ways that are associated with social race. For example a black girl was taunted by fellow students for "speakin' nigger", when she used what was to her classmates an unacceptable grammatical construction in responding to a teacher's question. She was told that she needed to "go back to talkin' school." As described in Chapter 8, there are also differences in that the use of social-race terms of reference and address usually mean something quite different when coming from a white versus a black.[4] It would be very difficult not to learn in such a setting that the meaning of social-race terms differs depending upon the color of the speaker's skin.

So far, no other areas besides appearance, social-race terms, and ways of talking clearly appear to be viewed by the students as the exclusive property of one social race. There are some skills such as stealing (see Chapter 8) or styles of dancing or playing which students have associated with blacks or with whites; however, the meanings of these skills do not change if the other social race performs them.

It is quite possible that some types of information containing social-race information, such as about clothing styles, are never violated and thus never occasion comment; however, there is no indication that such is the case. In short, the type of barriers that produce selective exchange do not seem to be of much importance at Grandin in limiting the amount of information that could be exchanged in a student-structured informal event.

The second type of exchange providing evidence of social barriers is a proforma exchange. In a proforma exchange, an on-going stable relationship is never established due to the failure of the potential interactants to arrive at a mutually acceptable definition of their positions relative to one another. The difficulty of establishing a relationship results either in reoccurring haggling over the disputed statuses or else in avoidance. In such a situation, information is exchanged only in a chaotic fashion, if at all. Proforma exchanges might be expected to occur on a wide-scale basis during periods of social and cultural change where the status of a given social identity relative to other identities is in flux (Gearing, et al., n.d.; Gearing, et al. 1975). At Grandin, in the student system, the predominant type of barrier is that which results in a proforma exchange. There is a general inability to negotiate agreed-upon statuses in cross-color relationships.

A statistical description of the student social-race associations at Grandin presents a fairly simple picture in which almost all close ties are between same-color individuals.[5] The dynamics underlying this pattern however, are not quite so simple. Most students do not simply avoid students of the other social race. Some children do try avoidance, but they are rarely allowed to maintain such a posture. Rather, the picture is one of on-going, usually unsuccessful, negotiation for acceptance either as an equal or as a superior. These negotiations are manifested in reoccuring social dramas.

White children, for example, who avoid or ignore black children or in some fashion seem to demonstrate feelings of superiority not commensurate with their position in the student ranking system, tend to be targets of black student reactions. Incidents occur in which a black student or a group of black students demonstrate to the white students an unwillingness to abide by the white student's attributions of inferiority. The incident given in

Chapter 8 concerning Jill's problems on her patrol post would be an example. This method of negotiating statuses used by some of the black students is reflected in the sensitivity of some of the white students to group challenges by blacks. This sensitivity is exhibited in the following example:

> A white girl had returned to class from the restroom. She was crying. Her friend, Martha, a white girl, was sitting in the desk in front of her. Martha talked with her until a group of black classmates began to gather around. Martha left her friend and came over to me, saying, "Whenever they [the black students] get in a group like that, I get away."

For these students, the sensitivity of blacks to whites' expressions of superiority and white fear of blacks seem to feed one another. A proforma exchange with respect to informal student events is the result.

Another type of reoccurring negotiation is when a student bids for acceptance into a group of a different social race. Some students seem not to differentiate their behavior according to the social race of the person with whom they are interacting. They make overtures of friendship in the same manner as they do for members of their own social race. Problems sometimes develop, however, because of differences in recognized and valued student identities (see Chapter 7). The behavior of the initiating student may not command respect commensurate with how he or she wishes to be treated. To be accepted, the potential member must either change his or her style or else continue to negotiate for acceptance on his or her own terms. The difficulties are evident in the following example of such a problem as encountered by a white student named Tracy:

> Bridget (a black student) first started criticizing Tracy indirectly. She remarked that the table was very crowded that day and proceeded to list those who were not supposed to be sitting at the table. One she mentioned was a black girl; the other was Tracy. The black girl who was named immediately declared her intention to sit there anyway. Tracy said nothing. A little later, Tracy asked Jane who was sitting beside her how to spell "giraffe." Jane told Bridget with a smothered laugh that Tracy had chosen a giraffe to write about. Bridget said, she (Tracy) looks like a giraffe. At first Tracy made an acceptable response by retorting that Bridget looked like a giraffe, but then almost immediately Tracy broke into another style. "I'm a tenderskin. I get hurt easy when people talk about me. It isn't nice to talk about people." Bridget started mimicing Tracy. "Look at her, she can't even take a little joke. She's just like [their teacher] said. She acts like a baby."

Among the white girls, acting weak and vulnerable is a recognizable and acceptable way to negotiate one's status. Among the black girls, acting weak and vulnerable is not a meaningful way to gain acceptance. It connotes immaturity. Tracy, if she maintains this style, will probably continue to be alloted a low status in the group, a status which she now rejects. On the other hand, if she perseveres, she may learn how to behave appropriately in this group and acquire the acceptance she desires. Over the two years of the study, in four or maybe five cases, this acceptance has occurred. The difficulties, however, are not simple ones to overcome.

SOCIAL-RACE SOCIALIZATION AT GRANDIN

The traditional form of black-white relationships in the South provided a framework for the establishment of close cross-color relationships. Today there seems to be no equivalent working model to ease cross-color pairs into a close stable relationship. Blacks and whites can relate to one another in events wherein the activity roles are clear and agreed upon. They have trouble, however, in devising relational roles which allow them to carry on a relationship that transcends isolated events and contexts.

As previously discussed in Chapter 9, the lack of a model of integration is mirrored by the school adults' presentation of black-white relationships to the students. Both black and white scientists, soldiers, athletes, and other heroes are represented on bulletin boards and in material presented in class, but usually not together. Time is also sometimes divided into black and white. February is black history month. Discussion of blacks in the classroom focuses either upon their areas of superiority to whites or their historical past as it is distinctive from that of white Americans. Discussion of black-white relations occurs usually as a discussion of white oppression of blacks, particularly as it was manifested in the past. Models of integration are not represented symbolically in the school; thus, students have little guidance from this quarter as to how to think about black-white relationships.

One additional trend suggested by our data concerns the establishment of avoidance patterns. In sixth grade, even more than fifth, we noticed the increased importance of student cliques in structuring the student system. As group identification becomes more salient, there is decreased opportunity for close ties to form between blacks and whites. The students tend to be more tolerant of one another when members of their group are absent. When group members are around confounding and ignoring outsiders seems to be a way of demonstrating group membership and status. This pattern bodes ill for black-white friendships since the children who are most open to cross-color friendships are more likely to be available to and vulnerable to this type of treatment. Especially with the ascendancy of larger cliques that seems to occur at later ages, simple avoidance of blacks by whites and vice versa seems likely as a pattern.

It has been found that opportunities for cross-color peer socialization at Grandin tend to be restricted to teacher-organized events and relationships in which children attempt to socialize one another into styles of classroom and game performance. In contrast to those provided by teacher-organized events, the opportunities for peer socialization in student-structured events and relationships are, for the most part, lost. Most of the stable student groups are homogeneous by social race. Socialization possibilities for non-group members are limited to what can be gleaned from observation of or brief intervention in group-staged events.

The self-imposed segregation of the informal student groups is not a result of straight-forward patterns of avoidance or concepts of social-race-specific information. Black students make many overtures to white students and vice versa, attempting to establish relationships that transcend isolated contexts and events. These initiations, however, often flounder because students do not know how to garner the respect they desire from their cross-color peers and are unwilling to accept the status to which their ignorance consigns them. No model of close black-white relationships is presented to Grandin students either at school or outside the school. The students are left to work out such relationships on their own, a process at which most are unsuccessful, despite repeated attempts.

In sum, students at Grandin tend to acquire little socialization about social-race identities from any source other than peers of their own social race. This is the case because the subject is generally avoided by the teachers, both in direct instruction and in symbolic presentations. The difficulties that students have in forming strong ties across social-race lines tend to eliminate opportunities for enculturation and socialization about alternative patterns. Thus, many black and white students spend hours day after day in one another's company yet learn about one another only from a relatively removed position.

PART V: CONCLUSIONS

In the space of a few years, the Bradford City school district has undergone a massive transition from a dual to a unitary school system. That transition has been accompanied by a significant reduction in the number of students, an increased percentage of black students, and the acquisition of more decision-making power by the black community. Grandin Elementary School, likewise, has undergone striking alterations. Less than ten years ago, Grandin was an all-white school. Since that time, besides being desegregated, it has undergone changes in personnel and in the size of the student body. The school's reputation of ten to twelve years ago for high test scores and a vigorous PTA has now declined toward the average for the district. The reputation of the district has also declined during this period, fanned at times, as argued by district officials, by invidious comparisons made by the newspapers between the city and county districts and by the amount of news coverage devoted to the city schools' problems versus their successes.

Optimism about and a determination to improve the schools is characteristic of many people in the district. Indeed, especially among black, though also among some of the white educators in the district, there is a sense that the struggle and problems of the transition period are drawing to a close; that the business of getting the new system underway can now begin in earnest.

From the study of Grandin, it is possible to discern some of the factors that will undoubtedly influence future developments in the district. Although the study focused on the social and cultural aspects of the school, particularly those aspects related to social race, we would argue that these features of the school's will be extremely important in affecting a broad range of efforts from curriculum development to the completion of the integration process.

The final chapter draws together major aspects of the emerging order of social-race relations in the school as they are shaped both from within and from without.

CHAPTER 11: THE EMERGING ORDER

DISTRICT POLICY

During the last ten years district policy has shifted along with, though not necessarily in response to, desegregation. These changes include policies to avoid overt discrimination and situations in which discrimination could be charged. Regular classrooms, for example, are racially balanced. In the case of certain special classes, such as those for the "exceptionally talented" or "educably mentally retarded" where white and black students are disproportionately represented, the procedures for admission have been made more explicit and include consent of the parents. By the same token, teachers are directed to follow certain procedures in the event that they decide to paddle a student, including the requirement that another teacher be present. The district also has elaborate guidelines concerning the administration of the free lunch program, the aim of which is to avoid embarrassment on the part of recipients.

A second important area of policy development at the district level involves what might be thought of as a reorientation of the reward structure of the schools. In the traditional structure students are differentiated according to success and failure in academic performance and are rewarded and punished according to their performance, attendance, and conformity with school rules. Roughly coincident with desegregation, there has been a tendency to alter or relax the policies which support the traditional structure. This has been especially true in the elementary grades where, for example, report cards were altered so that the worst mark possible is "having difficulty" versus the traditional category, "failing." Another similar trend has been district non-interference with the informal practice of "social promotion" wherein students who are considered to have inadequately mastered class content are nontheless passed on. Although this shift away from the traditional structure may not necessarily have been undertaken because of desegregation, it occurred during the same period and probably served to reduce sources of conflict. If students are treated similarly instead of being differentially failed, suspended, selected for advanced classes, or otherwise rewarded or punished for their school performance, then disputes over the student's treatment are less likely.

At first glance, this move away from the traditional reward structure might seem to be a simple relaxation of standards which avoid conflict by gradually easing rather than abruptly ejecting students out of the system. Other changes, however, must also be taken into account. Efforts have been made to replace the old reward structure with a new, perhaps more positive, approach. The new approach has been to substitute for the old emphasis on rewarding and punishing students, a focus on providing alternating programs for those students who do not realize their full potential in the regular program. These alternative programs, called "resource" programs, include both "remedial" programs and those for the "exceptionally talented." Resource programs are provided to students for only a part of their school day. The district practices mainstreaming (keeping students together in heterogeneous groups for most of their subjects), thus avoiding, to some degree, problems of "negative labeling."

The resource programs, at least as they are handled at Grandin, incorporate alternative modes of instruction including innovative types of individual instruction. In general, the modes of instruction are different from what is available in the regular classroom. Thus, instead of failure, the student who has fallen behind or needs classes for the gifted, as measured by standardized tests and other indicators, is maintained with his or her age group and, if space is available, placed in resource classes. In the case of reading resource and math resource classes, there are many students who are eligible for these programs yet are barred due to limited space. Despite the fact that these programs are not yet available to all who need them, it does seem reasonable to view resource programs as an alternative approach being developed by the district to replace the more traditional reward structure of the schools.

This reorientation of the schools, especially if it were to be undertaken on a more massive scale, would seem to hold definite educational promise. It has also undoubtedly served to avoid sources of conflict as described above. Along with emphasis in the district on avoiding discriminatory practices at the formal and semi-formal levels in the schools, the practices of mainstreaming and resourcing students rather than tracking and penalizing students who fall behind have served to reduce potential sources of conflict among students, among teachers and principals, and among teachers and parents. Anger over the retention of a student, for example, is avoided since students tend not to be retained.

CREATION OF NEW PATTERNS

The district policies outlined above have been important in shaping social-race relations at Grandin. For the most part, however, the burden for creating a new social order falls upon school participants -- the teachers, the principal, the staff, and the students. The difficulties of this task should not be underestimated. Our society provides little in the way of positive models for social-race relations. The path to new relations is clogged by the legacies of negative social-race terminology, racism as a framework for interpreting black-white interactions, and the country's history of slavery and oppression. At the same time, there are educational requirements to be met. The principals, teachers, staff, students, and parents at Grandin have taken many positive steps in avoiding violence, extreme mistrust, and the degree of academic alienation sometimes reported for desegregated schools. If at times, or from certain perspectives, the efforts by school participants appear insufficient to surmount all the difficulties, this should not be surprising given the formidable nature of the task which the rest of the society has by-and-large left to the schools.

ADVOIDANCE OF CONFLICT AND POLARIZATION AT THE SCHOOL

The prevalence of conflict in desegregated schools, or in any type of school for that matter, affects the suitability of the school as a place for learning and for the development of positive social-race relations. At Grandin we see a situation where there is high potential for conflict.

Our study of social-race terminology, symbolic encounters, and "unusual characters" (norm violators) in the school indicated that although there are relatively few incidents that achieve notoriety in the school as a result of their racial overtones, the incidents of this type that do occur have a strong impact on those involved and are difficutl to resolve. The sociolinguistics of social-race terminology reveals the availability of terminology for expressing black in-group solidarity and neutral or hostile cross-color relations. This legacy of social-race terminology and beliefs about social race, along with concepts of racism, make ready tools for expressing and rationalizing separation among blacks and whites. Their infrequent use in public, however, brings out a complexity of the situation; the use of such expressions are discouraged in the school context. The rate of conflict, in fact, is low as corroborated by the low rate of symbolic encounters that are interpreted as having racial overtones. The number of classrooms in which a culture of conflict situation has developed is another indicator of disruptive conflict. At Grandin, only two teachers out of a possible twenty or so could be characterized as having classrooms exhibiting this phenomenon. Thus, it appears that school participants have, at least for the moment, successfully worked out a way to limit conflict that might occur at the school.

This muting of conflict related to social race is accomplished in part by adherence to a set of norms, especially honored by the faculty. Positive value is attached to manifesting politeness and sociability in interaction, to accepting rule-pluralism, to avoiding overtly discriminatory acts, to emphasizing teacher-student identities to the exclusion of social-race identities, to avoiding public discussion of certain issues related to social race, and to attributing many student problems to factors associated with social class rather than to social race. We have referred to this general pattern of black-white relations at Grandin as "polite cooperation."

While patterns of cross-color interaction based on the norms of polite cooperation may not be considered entirely satisfactory, maintenance of this normative system has helped to prevent violence between blacks and whites without the institution of more spectacular controls such as police officers or dogs in the halls which have been reported for other school districts. This normative system is also positive, relatively speaking, in that it does not set up barriers to closer relationships and more significant patterns of interaction and information exchange -- which in a few cases, do occur.

Although there are some positive aspects of the new order that has arisen, it is not clear whether polite cooperation is a final or a stable stage in the desegregation process. In some respects, it might be assumed to be so since those who could not or were not willing to accept the new system have tended to withdraw. On the other hand, this emergent order may be somewhat unstable since it does not provide a solution to some of the real differences and submerged discomfort that face the teachers or the students. It is also doubtful that it would continue to work as well if district policies were changed so that teachers once again had to make important and clear ranking distinctions among students. The disagreements that sprang up at Grandin over who should be sent to a state "re-education" center and the assignment of the fifth grade student who was retained, suggest that matters of student assignment are points at which differences readily surface. If district policy were to be changed so that students no longer passed through the system as easily as they do now, then it might be anticipated that more conflicts would arise. An increase in the number of conflicts would place greater strain on the normative system that has developed.

In addition to an avoidance of conflict at Grandin, there has also been an avoidance of polarization among the students into pro- and anti-school factions as has been found in other schools. Lacey (1970), for example, in describing results from his study of a British grammar school, suggests that if a school differentiates among the students by emphasizing their relative ranking according to some characteristic such as academic performance, then student polarization will result. In the school he studied, Lacey found that the response of the students to being formally differentiated by the school was to form opposing groups, with the highly-ranked group developing pro-school values, while the low-ranked group developed anti-school values. McDermott (1974) found similar results in a school where students were differentiated according to pariah (lower caste or class) characteristics. At Grandin, as a result of practices such as mainstreaming, students are not as clearly ranked or differentiated by academic standing as in the case Lacey reports. Neither are students overtly stigmatized or differentiated as in the case that McDermott reports. Correspondingly, polarization is also lacking among the students at Grandin. Differentiation and polarization, it might be suspected, would be evident in many desegregated schools and would be an important aspect of school outcomes for students. This negative possibility has been avoided at Grandin.

Remaining Problems

Notwithstanding the success of efforts at Grandin to avoid overt patterns of discrimination and to avoid conflict through normative control, and notwithstanding the existence at the school of some very positive cases of significant cross-color cooperation and exchange that goes beyond polite cooperation, there are some difficulties remaining.

The relations between black and white teachers and students at Grandin are maintained, for the most part, in relative harmony by social norms or social mechanisms rather than by strong personal ties. Many students and some of the teachers, both black and white, lack significant cross-color relationships at the informal level. Thus, there tends to be a somewhat attenuated pattern of communication between blacks and whites. In other words, school participants, especially students, tend to informally segregate themselves by social race. This tendency to informal segregation means among other things that the pace of information exchange, and therefore the development of understanding across color lines, is slow. This consequence and others are discussed in more detail below.

Barriers to Understanding

The sparcity of close informal relationships between black and white students at Grandin mirrors and perhaps derives in part from the limited contact they have outside of school. Residential segregation and patterns of dual institutions along social-race lines mean that students are unlikely to encounter one another in the neighborhood or in places like church. Similar points could be made for teachers whose kinship, church, club, and other ties are more likely to provide common experiences within their own social-race group, given the nature of these institutions in Bradford. These differences in out-of-school activities do not, however, entirely account for patterns of friendship in the school. Students constantly try to establish relationships with one another. They are prevented from success by differences in styles of acting and interacting. These differencies, although they are not overwhelming and although they do not affect all students equally, provide barriers to friendship formation that tend not to be overcome.

The implications of this low rate of information exchange are important. Tricia, one of the students at Grandin, in discussion how anthropologists learn about others, made the point that behavior can be interpreted in a number of different ways and that the meaning of behavior must be learned from the actor. She argued that if a person is observed walking across the street in boots, it is difficult through observation alone to guess the meaning of the act to the wearer. In the same vein, she told one of the researchers:

> "If you see me talking with my teacher you may think I like her, that I am being nice to her. Actually, I may be acting that way for a totally different reason."

Tricia's point can easily be applied to the situation that tends to obtain between black and white students at Grandin. Their understanding of one another's behavior can go only so far without access to the meanings that are attached to those behaviors. White girls, for example, who have no background for understanding the behavior of some of the more outspoken black girls, cannot learn to interpret this behavior unless they learn what it means to other students who are familiar with such styles.

In order for students to learn the meanings attached to different styles, it is necessary that they interact in contexts where such information can be exchanged. This type of exchange usually occurs in the informal activities and events that the students stage. But, without friends of the other social race, students have no access to these kinds of exchanges.

Socialization About Social Race

It would be possible for students to acquire information on social race and sub-cultural differences from school adults. However, as we have seen, district requirements are very limited and, thus, for this and other reasons, attempts to socialize students about social-race identities or about cultural differences are limited.

From questions that students raise in class, and from the emotion associated with these questions and discussions that on occasion occur in class, it is clear that students struggle to make sense of their own social-race identity and the meaning of social race in the school. Obviously, some students do not understand that black styles of English constitute dialect differences rather than errors in speaking. Some do not understand that environmental and social conditions are more likely explanations of black-white differences than genetic factors. Others do not have a background for interpreting the interactions that occur between themselves and students and teachers of the other social race.[1]

When teachers do attempt to help students with these problems and difficultities, they sometimes seem ill-prepared. The district's only requirement on the subject is that black history month be honored during February. A frequent approach is to include information on black historical and heroic figures, yet to do so in a way that does not clearly bring out their relationship to American society in general. The other predominant approach is to discuss black-white relations in terms of past forms of exploitation of blacks by whites. This format reinforces for black students their heritage as one of a struggle for freedom, but has confusing implications for present-day black-white relations. These two approaches, which more-or-less coincide with the models available in the larger society, are both problematic. Neither provides students with a conceptual foundation for positive cross-social-race relationships in their own lives, or even for understanding why they are encouraged to behave politely to one another in the school.

In short, the students, like some of their teachers, find it difficult to desegregate themselves at the informal level of school organization. For this reason, students are not able to learn from their peers the inside view on social-race identities or about cultural differences that tend to be associated with social race. Furthermore, they are not likely to be provided with this information by their teachers. Except for the handful of students who manage to establish significant relationships across social-race lines, most of the students at Grandin have only limited opportunity to increase their understanding of one another. Instead, their views are formed by their own experiences, the interpretations of their same-race peers and their families, and the legacy of terminology and beliefs that have traditionally marked the social cleavage between blacks and whites.

THE ROAD TO FURTHER INTEGRATION AND THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT

Early proponents of school desegregation envisioned the elimination of the stigmatization of black children and the creation of a "color-blind system." When it became clear that the co-presence of white and minority students in the same school did not necessarily lead to these goals, the meaning of "integration" was restricted to those outcomes of desegregation which matched the reformers' visions. Since then, there has been a developing awareness of the pluralistic nature of the country, with a concomitant refinement in the concept of integration. According to this view, the different experiences and heritages of America's religious, ethnic, or racial minorities must be accommodated in the school. The concept of an integrated school includes the characteristic of mutual acceptance and respect for such differences.

The dual school system that existed in the City of Bradford prior to the early 1970's has been abolished. Although it could be argued that the dual pattern has been recreated anew on the district level, with the city constituting the black system while the country district which rings it constitutes the white, the dissolution of racially identifiable schools in the Bradford City district has by definition brought about the desegregation of the city schools. Whether they meet the qualitative criteria for integration, as suggested above, is a separate and more difficult question.

Despite the increased participation of blacks in policy formulation; the efforts of the district to increase the probability of equal treatment; and the efforts of the teachers, principal, parents, and students at Grandin to work out a more equitable and mutually accepting order; it cannot be concluded that the Bradford schools constitute a fully integrated system. Our study at Grandin has revealed what we expect to be a widespread phenomenon in all the Bradford schools, and undoubtedly in many desegregated situations, namely that although there is movement in a positive direction, it is slow. This is because black and white participants tend to lack easy access to channels of communication and sources of information that would facilitate their attempts to achieve the degree of mutual understanding indicative of an integrated situation. Especially in comparison with schools in other parts of the country, a relatively long distance has been traveled, even though some remains. How fast the schools move toward completing the process of integration will probably depend upon action at the district level.

Questions For The Future

One of the more important questions about the future of Bradford schools, and social-race relations, concerns the traditional reward structure of the schools. As described above, Bradford has moved away from the traditional system with its reliance upon rewarding and punishing students relative to differential academic achievement. In its place has been a movement, although a limited one, toward the use of resource programs which could be viewed as simply diversification of modes of instruction for those who for whatever reason require an alternative to the regular approach. Pressures have been exerted in the district to return to a more traditional approach in which, for example, students are suspended for missing too much school. In the case of attendance, these pressures have been avoided. Instead, the policy adopted requires that absent students be phoned each day. If at some point, however, there is submission to these pressures and the district returns to the traditional system, then we may guess that lower-income children will continue to show the relatively poor results that they have in the past in such systems and, thus, that black children who are overrepresented in this group will continue to experience lower educational achievement. If, on the other hand, a vigorous new system is developed -- built, perhaps upon the current approach of avoiding more punitive methods of handling students' school problems while developing alternative modes of instruction geared to the strengths, weaknesses, and orientations of the particular students -- then this outcome may be avoided.

A second important question has to do with a more intangible problem -- the question of what students should be taught about social race and social-race relations. Students do have questions in these areas, problems in communicating with one another, and a lack of accurate information about differences associated with social race. At present, district policy is relatively silent in this regard. Guidelines are lacking as is support for teachers who lack the skills and requisite knowledge to assist students with their questions, concerns, and misunderstandings related to social race. Teachers are faced with almost complete responsibility for deciding what, if anything, to teach or how, if at all, to help students on questions related to social race. Some teachers do undertake to alleviate these problems and have come up with promising approaches such as the class discussions and rap sessions described in an earlier chapter. Other teachers, although they meet the requirements specified by the district concerning black history month, opt to otherwise ignore these problems. In other words, as a result of the sensitivity of the topic to parents, the lack of district guidance, and the lack on the parts of some of the skill and knowledge required, many teachers choose to leave sutdents on their own to ponder the questions that they have. Because students tend not to have close cross-color friends, their only source of information in the school is usually limited to friends of the same color. Thus, in general, students are encouraged to behave appropriately relative to the norms of polite cooperation that are fostered in the school, yet are not provided with a rationale or ideology to motivate the behavior or to explain incidents that violate the norms. In a sense, the present arrangement in the district of more-or-less ignoring the problem is resulting in a situation where students are being socialized or taught to behave in a manner that fosters positive relations, but are not enculturated or provided with an ideology which would make sense of these behavioral rules or shore them up in times of stress.

FUTURE RESEARCH: IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

The case study of Grandin suggests the difficulty of assessing the impact of desegregation if desegregation is viewed as a simple, unidimensional variable. Clearly, factors discerned from this and other ethnographic research, such as the prevalence of conflict, affect the suitability of the school as a place for learning and for the development of positive social-race relations.

The case study of Grandin suggests five important aspects of schools that should be considered in assessing the effects of desegregation on student educational and attitudinal outcomes; (1) the degree of intergroup polarization, (2) the degree of student differentiation or stigmatization, (3) the amount of (sub)cultural heterogeneity, (4) the degree of successful provision of information about subcultural and stylistic differences, and (5) the degree of inter-ethnic or cross-color peer socialization. These aspects of school systems should be included in processual models describing the relationship between school organization and student outcomes, not only in the study of school desegregation, but also in the study of schools in general.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. See Gordon (1957), McPherson (1972), Scrupski (1975), and Schlecty (1976) for examples of sociological formulations; see Leacock (1969); Lacey (1970); Wax (1971); Calhoun and Ianni (1976); and Gearing (1976a,b) for examples of anthropological concepts. Spindler and Kimball have been constant contributors to anthropological concepts in this area for a longer period. See Spindler (1973, 1974a) for examples of his work and Kimball (1974) for a collection of his writings. Gallimore, *et al*. (1974) constitutes a collaboration among psychologists and anthropologists in ethnographic study with the resulting contribution of useful concepts.

2. For a review of the literature on desegregation, see Clement, Eisenhart, and Wood (1976); Collins and Noblit (1976b); and Riffel, *et al*. (1976).

3. "Social race" or "color" is used in place of "race" in order to distinguish between "race" as a biological concept pertaining to populations and "race" as a diffuse status characteristic used primarily in reference to individuals. (See Harris 1975 .) "Social race" is used to refer to the latter meaning.

4. Case studies of the process of desegregation on the district level were available, e.g., see Rubin (1972). See also Kimball and Wagley (1974) and Johnson (1976) which are ethnographic accounts of desegregated schools.

Chapter 2

1. The particular public school which is referred to by the pseudonym Grandin was selected early in the summer of 1975 with the assistance of the in-coming superintendent who was new to the district. At the time, we were searching for an elementary school with at least three fifth grade classes and an approximately even percentage of black and white students. Initially we desired a situation in which neither social-race group was in the minority and each student had an ample number of classmates of either social race from which to choose friends. A fifty-fifty split, of course, would have also eliminated the problems of accounting for the disproportionate number of one group when estimating rates of cross-race friendships.

Chapter 2 (continued)

Our concern with the number of fifth grade classes involved the expectation that teachers would organize their classrooms in a variety of ways, thus providing a variety of contexts in which to observe student relationships.

We searched with the in-coming superintendent among the figures on the elementary schools in Bradford with fifth and sixth grade classes (some of the paired schools have only first through third) which would meet our size and composition requirements. Grandin was one of the few which did. Because it was the largest it looked most promising.

In August of 1975, the presiding federal judge issued a decision on the case against Bradford calling for a more equitable desegregation plan. As a result of this ruling, the school attendance areas were adjusted so that all elementary schools in Bradford were to have between 13% and 33% white students. (Except for minor deviations - Grandin was one - all schools fell within this range.) The institution of this "racial balance" plan meant that we would be studying a school in which whites were in the minority. The total enrollment of Grandin, however, remained large enough for our other purposes and the percentage of whites (35%) was sufficient to permit a comparison of Grandin against other desegregated schools.

2. For a description of an approach using event analysis for the ethnographic study of schools, see Burnett (1969).

3. Analysis of the quantitative data is described when such data are presented.

4. As Denzin (1970) argues, it is possible to use participant-observation data to test hypotheses. In this case, the purposes of the study are exploratory and descriptive. Thus, the analysis is designed to produce a holistic, integrated description which stimulates the development of grounded theory.

5. An ironic light on desegregation is that the researchers' university is presently experiencing pressure from HEW to improve its performance at desegregating; and, at the time of the beginning of the project there were no black faculty members or graduate students in the researchers' department. At present, the department has a quarter-time black faculty member and one black graduate student.

6. This twelve-year old student, who was referred to as "slow" by one of the teachers, also held forth on the difficulties of studying people in one's own society, making the point that because of familiarity many possibly unwarrented assumptions are made.

Chapter 3

1. The information presented in this and the next chapters was obtained from a number of sources. Bradford's early history has been discussed in several published works which focus either on the city and the region or on the development of industry that spurred the city's growth. Informants also provided material on the early history, as did newspaper sketches published in the 1920's and 1930's. Most of the history of the town, including school history, from its origins until circa 1930 was taken from secondary, published sources. For the period after 1930 and particularly after World War II, informants' accounts were used more heavily. There are also several unpublished papers (theses, dissertations, or small research projects) discussing the political history of Bradford for this period. Characterization of the schools from 1945 to present relies for the most part on material from informants. Material was also taken from court documents and other papers provided by respondents associated with the schools at the time.

   Descriptions of the current situation, and particularly the past decade in Bradford, rely heavily on material presented by informants. This is especially so with regard to the political arena. A file on relevant newspaper articles has been maintained throughout the research. Economic and demographic statistics were obtained from census reports, city and regional planning commissions, the Chamber of Commerce, school documents, and so forth. Attempts were made to corroborate informants' views with other material from newspapers and/or statistical or other documented data. Informants' accounts were also compared with one another for consistency. Ambivalencies or ambiguities in some responses are mentioned in the text of the chapters.

   Judging by compatibility of information from the various sources, the description of Bradford's history, political and economic development, and present school-relevant political conditions is accurate at a general level. Although coverage is not exhaustive, it is extensive. Complete statistical data on current socioeconomic and demographic patterns are difficult to obtain in direct form. Informants' accounts concerning such topics are therefore checked only by the general statistics available. This is particularly a problem when discussing the so-called "white flight" phenomenon. (The ambiguity of these situations is mentioned at various points in the text.)

2. Recently, Bradford's leading newspaper published a series of articles concerning the city and county schools. Included in these articles were figures, based on data from the 1970 Census, which report statistics for populations within the city and county school districts. Since the school district lines do not correspond to the city limits nor exactly to the census tracts, data for populations within the two districts are not directly obtainable from the published census reports. The reporter who prepared the information

indicates that the figures were obtained by accumulating census tract data. All tracts that lay completely within the school district were counted for that district. Several tracts ("four, five or six") overlapped the two districts, falling in the city-out area. These tracts were more or less arbitrarily assigned to one district or the other. Some attempt was made to balance the effects of this assignment by alternating inclusion of tracts into the city school district on the basis of socio-economic status: ". . . that is, if I included one white middle-class neighborhood, then I'd leave out the next white middle-class one . . . ." The figures are rough estimates, therefore. For the purposes of indicating the general situation in 1970, however, the information is presented:

TABLE 3.1: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF BRADFORD CITY AND COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT POPULATIONS: 1970

	City School District	County School District
Total population	72,340	60,340
% black	48%	14%
Median family income	$7,308	$10,068
Median black family income	$5,203	$ 7,477
% of families living in poverty	18%	8%

Source: Bradford morning newspaper

3. CNC is a pseudonym.

4. In 1955 North Carolina adopted new school laws (known as the Pearsall Plan) which nominally removed the state from legal responsibility in the policies and operations of the local school systems. The federal courts, therefore, consistently refused to allow North Carolina as litigant in the Bradford suits. This policy was designed to stall school desegregation in North Carolina by removing the possibility that the entire state school system could be declared unconstitutional, thus requiring that court actions be initiated for each school district. The effectiveness of the Pearsall plan and other strategies of the state government may be indicated by the fact that North Carolina schools have successfully resisted desegregation into the 1970's.

Chapter 3 (continued)

5. One difficulty, among several, with this view of emigration from the city is the possibility that both blacks and whites are fleeing. Unfortunately, the data available on population trends in recent years do not directly show the socioeconomic characteristics needed to determine the proportion of blacks who are middle-class and have moved to the urban fringe.

6. By definition, if a group is attempting to use an issue in education as a dimension of their political interest and/or as an aspect of their definition among other political powers in the community, then their interest and concern is higher level. Some individuals, of course, operate at both levels. Their visible roles, activities, and goals seem to differ, however, in the different networks.

7. It is interesting to note that the candidate for governor who was proposing the program received the support of Bradford black leaders, for they felt there were other areas of advantage to be gained from this candidate's platform. The education questions were only a part of the overall political decision that had to be made.

Chapter 4

1. While the school board and administration have different duties, in that the first officially determines policy and the second implements that policy, they are considered together here because they influence an individual school as a unit.

Chapter 5

1. The fact that they had learned at least some of the information was evident to Talbert, who overheard them using the information in their homes. See also Stebbins (1970).

2. See McCall and Simmons (1966) for an extensive discussion of this concept.

3. Our approach corresponds somewhat to that of Calhoun and Ianni (1976) who define social organization as the institutional rules of the formal system plus individual and group manipulation of those rules in the informal system. We include in addition, however, an emphasis upon the opportunity structures associated with these systems and thus incorporate central aspects of the cultural or meaning system as well.

Chapter 6

1. See Goffman (1959); see also Gregor (1977) for an example of an ethnography organized by dramaturgical metaphor.

2. There is one kindergarten class as well because in North Carolina kindergartens remain in "neighborhood" schools. In addition, Grandin houses a class for TMR (trainable mentally retarded) students.

3. See Clement, Eisenhart, and Taylor (1976) for the results of a study of children's acquisition of school role terms. The older children in the study were one grade ahead of the student cohort at Grandin represented in the present research. Those data, as well as the data collected for the present study, inform our description of student-recognized school role terms.

4. These were third-year education students who worked for short periods at the direction of the classroom teacher. The purpose for the college student was to gain exposure to a school situation before making a further commitment to becoming a teacher. Some of these aids were used as tutors, in effect, for "slow" students or for those who caused disruptions.

5. Hiring ratios continue to be based on the 1970-71 designated ratio of teachers, not on the ratio of black to white students, the criterion desired by certain groups active in school district affairs.

6. In our case, most of the students addressed us as the teachers referred to us, by title plus last name. Some, perhaps affected by our tendency to refer to one another by first name when talking with students, used title plus first name, e.g., Dr. Joe, or in some cases just the first name. Toward the end of the second year that we had been at the school, both teachers and students began to use our first names more frequently.

7. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the depth of feeling in these sociable interactions among school participants.

Chapter 7

1. The devastating effect of not having a party at a particular time as described by Fuchs (1969), did not occur at Grandin. If questioned about the omission of a particular party, the students referred to a school rule which allowed them to have only so many parties a year.

Chapter 7 (continued

2. For the group of students who were fifth graders at Grandin in 1975-1976, their mean age as of January 1, 1976 was 10.9 years with a standard deviation of .74 years. Their mean reading level as recorded on their report forms was 8.8 (where 8 is equivalent to Third Reader, Level 2 and 9 is Fourth Level); for mathematics, the figure was 6.6 (where 6 is equivalent to Fourth and 7 is equivalent to Fifth). The SRA scores for tests administered that year had the following means and standard deviations:

	Mean Percentile	Approximate Grade level
Composite	30.7 (26.6)	4/5 (4th year/5th month)
Reading	33.4 (28.1)	4/3
Language Arts	32.6 (27.2)	4/3
Mathematics	29.5 (25.5)	4/5
Social Studies	31.7 (26.4)	4/2
Science	33.8 (27.7)	4/3

3. It is interesting that one student who other students label a crybaby was tagged by a teacher as "the meanest kid from Hartwell" when he first came to Grandin.

4. One student pointed out that she regarded changing classes as undesirable because it meant that one had to have a "little crowd to go around with." Without access to a stable group of classmates, one would be dependent upon a stable group of friends in order to have access to student activities.

5. These data do not address the general argument that schools function to sort people for different statuses in later life but rather focus upon the mechanism of within-school ability grouping and tracking, which some have assumed operate to achieve this sorting function.

Chapter 8

1. The influence of sex on the composition of student groupings at Grandin in striking. As already suggested, sex and social race together differentiate most student groupings at Grandin.

2. At lunch students must sit at tables designated for their class while at breakfast students may sit anywhere in the cafeteria. Social-race segregation is evident at both times, but it is more pronounced at breakfast. This pattern is influenced in part, no doubt, by the friendship groups that congregate in the walk or bus ride to school. As mentioned, most of the bus riders are black while most of the walkers are white.

3. This tally, of course, represents the rate for only certain types of social situations. It appears that in the privacy of one's own group, prejudiced remarks are more frequent than in public situations. Elicitation interviews with a number of school participants suggest that social-race terms are used more frequently in private conversations than would appear from our findings which are based primarily on public usage.

4. The possibility that such events were hidden from us is discussed below.

5. Obviously there are other frames which could be applied as well. The influence of the student's social race could have affected what happened to her in the hall in more subtle ways. A student who behaved similarly but was smaller or fairer skinned, for example, might have been interpreted as having different motives. Perhaps the student's behavior, because of her size, was misinterpreted by some of the teachers as conveying an adult-like manipulative quality.

6. Note that in a vote on the question of whether these teachers were prejudiced, only a small percentage of the students chose this interpretation.

7. According to the SRA tests administered in the fifth grade, 73.3% of Grandin fifth graders were reading below grade level. The remedial reading program was large enough to accommodate only around 20% of Grandin's fifth graders.

8. Following termination of the study, the board adopted a policy which calls for the telephoning of absent students each day. A more punitive approach in which students would be suspended was rejected by the board.

Part IV

1. Differences between the black and white students at Grandin are over-emphasized by the term "bicultural." While there are areas of knowledge, linguistic routines, and interpersonal cues which are different enough to provoke misunderstanding, there are also large areas of overlap. Furthermore, there are variations within groups which are as great as variation between groups. Unfortunately, we lack convenient labels to depict this particular type of cultural variation.

Chapter 10

1. Unlike the student systems described by McDermott (1974) and Lacey (1970), academic performance and classroom performance are not negatively valued in the student system. On the other hand, demonstration of academic ability is neither necessary nor sufficient for high ranking in the student system.

2. Note that the cohesion score would have been lower if the students had chosen 4th graders instead of 5th graders, if they had chosen fewer 5th graders, or if they had not chosen people who chose them.

   Also, note that cohesion scores have been computed only for regular classrooms, not resource or special-subject classes.

3. In this resource class, the students are constantly creating poems, writing stories, making up questions, etc., which are sometimes read orally or posted.

4. This is not the case for all whites. (See Chapter 8.)

5. This statement is based on observations of student seating patterns at lunch, student descriptions of student networks, and sociometric interviews administered at the end of the fifth and sixth grade school years. (See Chapter 8 for a description of these data.)

Chapter 11

1. The efforts that individual teachers make to help students with these questions are described in previous chapters. It might also be pointed out that the texts used for social studies introduce concepts such as "fixed status" to describe phenomena related to economic and social conditions. Unfortunately, the text also emphasizes the concept of race without explaining its limitations as a concept, and the differences between the scientific definition of the term and the folk definition of the term. Furthermore, some of the teachers complained that the reading level of the text was beyond the comprehension of most of the students.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH DATA FILING AND CATEGORIZATION SYSTEM

The three main sections of the files are:

1) Primary Data Sets: The typed entries are filed according to the categories given in the outline. These categories are used in the log-in cards. Within categories, the entries are arranged chronologically. (If there is not a specific cateogry for an item, it is filed according to the more general heading, or a new category is inserted into the outline.)

2) Secondary Data Sets: These are analyses of the primary data sets entered according to the categories in the outline.

I. PRIMARY DATA SETS.......................................I

- A. Observations.......................................I.A
  - 1. Informal -- District Ethnography.......................I.A.1
    - a. School Board Meetings.......................I.A.1.a
    - b. District Teacher Meetings.......................I.A.1.b
    - c. Concerned Citizens' Meetings.......................I.A.1.c
    - d. One O'Clock Luncheons.......................I.A.1.d
    - e. Citizens Steering Comm.......................I.A.1.e
    - f. City-wide Adv. Comm.......................I.A.1.f
  - 2. II Observations (Teacher-Student Observations)......I.A.2
    - a. Choice of Focal Students.......................I.A.2.a
    - b. Running Descriptions.......................I.A.2.b
    - c. Coded Observations.......................I.A.2.c
      - 1. Pilots and Information on COS.......................I.A.2.c.1
      - 2. Copies of COS (Classroom Observation Schedule).......................I.A.2.c.2
      - 3. Coded Observations.......................I.A.2.c.3
  - 3. III Observations (Student-Student Observations......I.A.3
    - a. Classroom.......................I.A.3.a
    - b. Breakfast/Lunch.......................I.A.3.b
    - c. "Extras" -- Library, PE, Music, Resource........I.A.3.c
    - d. Bus.......................I.A.3.d
    - e. Data Plan.......................I.A.3.e
  - 4. Informal--- School Micro-Ethnography (incl. Hall/ Lounge/Bathroom Decorations).......................I.A.4
    - a. Teacher meetings (and parties).......................I.A.4.a
    - b. PTA Meetings and Programs.......................I.A.4.b
    - c. Grandin Advisory Committee.......................I.A.4.c

5. Private and Special Schools........................I.A.5

6. Student Seating Maps..................................I.A.6

  a. Regular Class ("1-9" marks class's homeroom T)..I.A.6.a.1-9

  b. Departmentalized Class ("1-9" marks class's home T)......................................I.A.6.b.1-9

  c. Blocked Class -- 1:00 to 1:45 ("1-9" marks block T)......................................I.A.6.c.1-9

  d. Blocked Class -- 1:45 to 2:30 ("1-9" marks block T)......................................I.A.6.d.1-9

  e. EMR Class -- (#s mark class for the EMR T).....I.A.6.e.1-6

  f. ET Class (#s mark class for the ET T)...........I.A.6.f.1-6

  g. Remedial Reading (#s mark class for the RR T)...I.A.6.g.1-6

  h. Remedial Math (#s mark class for the RM T)......I.A.6.h.1-6

  i. Library (#s mark class's homeroom T)...........I.A.6.i.1-9

  j. Music (#s mark class's homeroom T)..............I.A.6.j.1-9

  k. Physical Education (#s mark class's homeroom T).I.A.6.k.1-9

  l. Breakfast..I.A.6.l.

  m. Lunch (#s mark class's homeroom T)..............I.A.6.m.1-9

  n. Bus -- Daily (we have so few of these -- no #s).I.A.6.n.

  o. Activity Bus, Field Trip, Program (#s home T) Recreation Period, Unusual Situation by Class...I.A.6.o.1-9

  p. Activity Bus, Field Trip, Program, Recreation Period, Unusual Situation (Classes Mixed).......I.A.6.p

B. Interviews...I.B

1. Desegregation-Related Issues........................I.B.1

2. Informal-District Ethnography.......................I.B.2

3. Grandin Student Sociometric.........................I.B.3

  a. Choice of Work and Class Partners...............I.B.3.a

  b. Photo-Choice....................................I.B.3.b

4. Grandin Parent Interviews.................................I.B.4
    a. Withdrawal Interviews...............................I.B.4.a
    b. Parent Interviews...................................I.B.4.b
5. Grandin Teacher Interviews................................I.B.5
    a. Control Elicitation.................................I.B.5.a
    b. Event Elicitation...................................I.B.5.b
    c. Punishments/Rewards/Rules Elicitation...............I.B.5.c
    d. Teacher Demographics................................I.B.5.d
    e. Teacher Desegregation Interviews....................I.B.5.e
    f. Student Types Elicitation...........................I.B.5.f
6. Private and Special Schools...............................I.B.6
7. Grandin Child Interviews..................................I.B.7
    a. Talking Diary.......................................I.B.7.a
    b. Conflict Provocation and Response...................I.B.7.b
    c. Student types Elicitation...........................I.B.7.c
8. Informal -- School/District (Outside Agencies)............I.B.8
9. Class Aggregated Data (From T & S Demos)..................I.B.9

C. Documents...I.C
1. Newspaper Articles..I.C.1
2. District Documents..I.C.2
    a. Task Force on the Magnet School Concept.............I.C.2.a
    b. Department of Public Instruction Planning Survey....I.C.2.b
    c. 1970-1971 Charrette.................................I.C.2.c
    d. Transcript of "X" v. Bradford.......................I.C.2.d
    e. Free Lunch Roster for June, 1975....................I.C.2.e
    f. Free Lunch Roster for June, 1976....................I.C.2.f
    g. Guidelines on Special Education (including RR, RM)..I.C.2.g

2. District Documents (continued)

- h. City and County District -- Demographic Information..I.C.2.h
- i. Citizen's Steering Committee Materials..............I.C.2.i
- j. Principal's Workshop Materials.......................I.C.2.j
- k. Directory of School Personnel........................I.C.2.k
- l. Map of School Dist. Boundaries.......................I.C.2.l
- m. City Schools Summary.................................I.C.2.m
- n. Teacher Evaluation Form..............................I.C.2.n

3. School Documents..I.C.3

- a. Self-Study Report....................................I.C.3.a
- b. Report Card Form.....................................I.C.3.b
- c. PTA Business Report for 1975-1976....................I.C.3.c
- d. Attendance Records for 1975-1976 for 5th.............I.C.3.d
- e. Neighborhood, etc. Information from Cumulative File (not complete)...................................I.C.3.e
- f. Award Certificate....................................I.C.3.f
- g. 1975-1976 Maryvale Class Roster......................I.C.3.g
- h. 1975-1976 and 1976-77 Grandin Class Roster...........I.C.3.h
- i. 1975-1976 Children from Low Income Families (Free Lunch) -- Grandin..............................I.C.3.i
- j. 1975-76 Grandin Student Teachers.....................I.C.3.j
- k. Demographic Forms on Grandin Stu's...................I.C.3.k
- l. Drop Box Announcements...............................I.C.3.l
- m. List of 5th and 6th Grade Resource Students..........I.C.3.m
- n. Permission Slips -- Skating Party I.C.3.n
- o. Teaching Materials...................................I.C.3.o
- p. Distrib. to Jr. Highs................................I.C.3.p

4. External Documents....................................I.C.4
    a. NCAE Material....................................I.C.4.a
    b. State Directives.................................I.C.4.b
    c. Federal Directives...............................I.C.4.c
5. Literature (including material from Lit Review).........I.C.5
6. Private and Special Schools.............................I.C.6

II. SECONDARY DATA SETS....................................II

- A. Grandin Micro-Ethnography...............................II.A
  - 1. Activity-Participants Map............................II.A.1
  - 2. School Participants (biographical information-miscellaneous)...............................II.A.2
    - a. Student Demographic Data (Forms).................II.A.2.a
    - b. Student Demographic Data (Data)..................II.A.2.b
  - 3. School Groups..II.A.3
    - a. Named Groups.....................................II.A.3.a
    - b. Informal Groups (including in-class partner choices)...II.A.3.b
  - 4. Ranking Norms Used by Students.......................II.A.4
  - 5. Ranking Norms Used by Teachers and Administrators...II.A.5
  - 6. Meaning of Social Race in Interaction................II.A.6
    - a. Social Race and Institutional Identity..........II.A.6.a
    - b. Informal Usage by School Adults..................II.A.6.b
    - c. Informal Usage by School Children................II.A.6.c
  - 7. Teacher and Administrator Methods of Control........II.A.7
    - a. Analyses of Decorations (including Hall/Lounge/Bathroom Decorations)....II.A.7.a
    - b. Class management Summaries.......................II.A.7.b
    - c. Elicitation Analysis.............................II.A.7.c
  - 8. Child Methods of Control.............................II.A.8
  - 9. Student Interaction Patterns.........................II.A.9
    - a. "Helping Behavior................................II.A.9.a
  - 10. Teacher-Student Interaction Patterns................II.A.10
    - a. "Falling Between the Cracks"....................II.A.10.a

11. Research Role....................................II.A.11

12. Social Identities..................................II.A.12

13. Teacher-Teacher Interaction Patterns (including Principal)..II.A.13

14. Teacher-Parent Interaction Patterns.....................II.A.14

15. Children's Body Decorations (and Graffiti)...............II.A.15

16. Division of Labor..................................II.A.16

17. School Rules.......................................II.A.17

18. Student Absences/Tardiness (Response to)...............II.A.18

19. Food/Money Exchange.................................II.A.19

20. Information Exchange (help with Assignments, Secrets, etc.)..II.A.20

21. Fights -- Student-Student Conflict.....................II.A.21

B. District Ethnography....................................II.B

1. Activity-Participants Map.............................II.B.1

2. District Participants, Groups, and Organizations........II.B.2

  a. Quick File...II.B.2.a

  b. Bradford Committee.................................II.B.2.b

3. General on Issues.....................................II.B.3

4. Ability Grouping Issue................................II.B.4

5. Merger Issue..II.B.5

6. School-safety Issue...................................II.B.6

7. New High School Issue.................................II.B.7

8. History of External Directives on Desegregation.........II.B.8

  a. Section of Interim Report...........................II.B.8.a

  b. Charette Analysis..................................II.B.8.b

9. Administrative directives..............................II.B.9

10. State Directives....................................II.B.10
11. Federal Directives..................................II.B.11
12. Social Identities...................................II.B.13
13. Researcher Role.....................................II.B.14
14. Grandin (or other) Response to External.................II.B.15
15. External Organizations..............................II.B.16

C. Correspondence/Consultants...............................II.C
1. Consultant/NIE suggestions...........................II.C.1
2. Other...II.C.2

APPENDIX B

CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION FOR FORMAL OBSERVATIONS

Student ID:	1-3
Social Race:	4
Sex:	5
Free Lunch:	6
Total # of Behavioral Sequences Observed for Student:	7-9
Total # of Days (Times) Student Observed:	10-11
Total # of Minutes Student Observed:	12-14
Observer:	15
Coder:	16
Date of Observation:	17-19
Day of Week:	20
Hour Observation Begins:	21-22
Location:	22-23
Event (see attached list of Events):	25-26
Activity (see attached list of Activities):	27-28
No. of Times Student Initiates	29-30
No. of Times Teacher Initiates:	31-32
Student Displayed Inducement Type (see attached list of Inducement Types) (Code 1 if Yes; 0 if No)	#1: 33
"	2: 34
"	3: 35
"	4: 36
"	5: 37
"	6: 38
"	7: 39
"	8: 40
"	9: 41

No. of Times Student Moves toward Teacher (8 = 8 or more):		42
Address Form Used by Student (see attached list of Address Forms) (code 1 if Yes; 0 if No); Type	1:	43
"	2:	44
"	3:	45
"	4:	46
"	5:	47
"	6:	48
"	7:	49
"	8:	50
"	9:	51
Teacher Inducement (code 1 if Yes; 0 if No) Type	1:	52
"	2:	53
"	3:	54
"	4:	55
"	5:	56
"	6:	57
"	7:	58
"	8:	59
"	9:	60
No. of Times Teacher Moves toward Student (8 = 8 or more):		61
Address Form Used by Teacher (code 1 if Yes; 0 if No) Type	1:	62
"	2:	63
"	3:	64
"	4:	65
"	5:	66

Address Form Used by Teacher (code 1 if Yes; 0 if No) (continued)	Type 6:	67
"	7:	68
"	8:	69
"	9:	70
Contact Type (see attached list of Contact Types) (code 1 if Yes; 0 if No)	Type 1:	71
"	2:	72
"	3:	73
"	4:	74
"	5:	75
No. of Times Teacher and Student are Arms' Length Apart or Closer:		76-77

Events and Activities Code for Teacher-Student Schedule

Code	Event	Code	Activity
1	Class Work (regular class, resource, music, and library)	01	seat work
		02	oral work
		03	project work
		04	test
		05	individual work (free work period) includes free browsing, library
		06	film/audio tape
		07	group activity (e.g., singing)
2	Class Procedures	10	taking roll
		11	preparing lunch envelopes
		12	pledge, prayer
		13	collecting notes, dues, etc.
		14	collecting, distributing, putting away materials (clothes, books, etc.) (include checking out in library)
		15	instruction on activity
		16	choosing sides, errand runners, etc.
		17	clean-up
		18	lining up
		19	going to, walking to (class movement)
		20	going to resource
		21	taking the pass (individual movement, inc. running errands)

Code	Event	Code	Activity
3	Non-Class "Class" (usual constraints altered)	30	break (water or bath room)
		31	free time (includes what some teachers call a "break" meaning freedom to select activity which may include going to get a drink of water; also includes what we have been calling pre-class for some teachers)
		32	after class dismissal
		33	party
		34	performance (watching or performing in)
		35	field trip
4	Physical Education, Play Period, Recess	40	free play -- no game
		41	free play -- game (children selected)
		42	teacher-structured activity
		43	testing
5	Breakfast	50	breakfast
		51	clean-up
6.	Lunch	60	lunch
		61	clean-up
7	Pre-/Post-School	70	bus
		71	waiting for the bus at the stop
		72	unloading and loading at the school
		73	waiting for school to open

7	Pre-/Post-School (continued)	74	going to or returning from Breakfast
		75	hanging around after school
8	(Conferences/Meetings/ Individual Testing)	80	teacher-student alone
		81	principal-student
		82	teacher or principal and student and parent
		83	other-adult and student alone

Address Forms, Contact Types, and Inducement Types for Teacher-Student Schedule

Address Form: (term of address)

1. FN (first name)
2. LN (last name)
3. FN & LN
4. Diminutive
5. Title
6. Title and LN
7. Honorific
8. Gesture

Contact type: (topic of the interaction)

Work (anything having to do with the content of the subject being studied in class; reports on personal experiences should be classified as personal information even if the teacher asks for such information in relation to class topic)

Procedure (anything having to do with list of activities falling under Class Procedures on Events and Activities List)

Behavior (anything having to do with quality of compliance with rules, expectations, etc.)

Personal Information (volunteered self-reports or requests for such reports on personal experiences or history)

Other Information (request for or offering of non-personal information which is not related to class topic immediately at hand; e.g., are we going to go outside today? The weatherman said it's supposed to rain.)

No Information

Inducement Type: (how actor tries to influence the behavior of another)

These categories include five inducement types (or strategies) and four response modes adapted from Phillip Schlecty's Power Influence and Compliance category Analysis System. For more on the theoretical position underlying this approach, see Schlecty 1976.

If the actor is attempting to induce behavior, actor is using one of two approaches: 1) a position-related approach (based on status or control over resources) or 2) a person-related approach. Position-related means that the inducement is couched either in the status position of the inducer (normative) or in the inducer's control over resources such as material rewards (remunerative) or power to inflict punishments (coercive). Person-related means that the inducement is couched in the personal relationship between the actor and the focus. If the inducer is trying to induce behavior from the other using the premise of you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours, then it's social exchange; or the inducer may rely upon the psychological affect the other feels (e.g., if you love me, you will x; if you are the good person I think you are you will X). Responses to these inducements are conformity, retreatism, rebellion and innovation.

Coding Instructions for Student-Student Observations

Student ID, Date, Location

same as those used above

Others student interacts with

List names of other students with whom focal student interacts

Initiator (I)

1 -- focal student initiates interaction
2 -- someone else initiates interaction with focal student
3 -- no initiator apparent or unable to determine initiator

4 -- truncated interaction by focal child (focal child does not realize he/she is being initiated to).

5 -- truncated interaction by other (another child does not realize that focal child is trying to initiate interaction with him/her).

Also: Initiation should be coded from the first evidence either verbal or non-verbal that 2 or more children are doing something together. Reenter names only if IC or AT changes

Interaction Content (the topic of the interaction) (IC)

1 -- academic work
2 -- game
3 -- procedural rules
4 -- objects
5 -- personal characteristics and talents, e.g., looks, dress, age, color, etc.
6 -- interpersonal relationships
7 -- other information
8 -- topic not discernible

Activity Type (AT)

1 -- student organized activity: fighting or antagonizing
2 -- student organized activity: talking together
3 -- student organized activity: other
4 -- adult organized activity, e.g., seatwork, teacher-organized game, other in which students participate but do not initiate

APPENDIX C

SOCIOMETRIC INTERVIEW

ANTHROPOLOGY QUESTIONS

6/6/77

Your name: ______________________________

Q. #1: Which students in your class do you like to work with?

(Check (✓) which ones you like to work with.)

1. Molly ____
2. Lisa ____
3. Todd ____
4. Rosalind ____
5. Lisa ____
6. Harold ____
7. Courtney ____
8. Eddie ____
9. Crystal ____
10. Patricia ____
11. Donna ____
12. Kelvin ____
13. Timothy ____
14. Carolyn ____
15. Susan ____
16. Francina ____
17. David ____
18. Beverly ____
19. Bruce ____
20. Rosalind ____
21. Kimberly ____
22. Karen ____
23. LeAndre ____
24. Douglas ____

Q. #2: Pretend that all the students in the 6th grade here at _____ were going to the same school next year. Which 5 students would you most like to be together with you in class next year?

(Write the student's name and who his or her teacher is now.)

	Student's name	Teacher
1.	______________________	______________________
2.	______________________	______________________
3.	______________________	______________________
4.	______________________	______________________
5.	______________________	______________________

APPENDIX D

TEACHER INTERVIEWS ON DESEGREGATION

Code_______

Interviewer_________

Teacher Interviews on Desegregation

Date________________

In the following questions, we are interested in your impressions of the changes that have taken place in the _____ Schools over the last 5-10 years We are interested in problems that have arisen and the changes that have come about either as a result of desegregation or along with desegregation. To begin, let me ask a general question..

1. What do you think have been the effects of school desegregation in _____? For example, suppose a person in the school system left 10 years ago and just returned. What kinds of changes would they find in the schools?

   (*What do you think are some other serious problems or important benefits that have come about as a result of school desegregation in _____ ?)

2. How would you describe changes that have occurred as a result of desegregation or along with desegregation over the last 10 years or so in (the following)?

   a. class content

   b. the amount of homework assigned

   c. grading standards and standards for promotion to the next grade

   d. the way student performance and progress is reported (e.g. report card)

   e. disciplinary standards

   f. disciplinary procedures

   g. ways of handling absences

   h. the amount of work teachers have to do

   i. the grouping of students for classes

   j. school programs (special programs)

   k. guidance services

   l. teachers' contacts with parents (e.g., home visits)

   (*Would there be any special problems a T might feel in contacting (b)(w) parents the T didn't know well?)

   m. PTA

   n. teachers relationship to administrators and supervisors

   o. teachers relationships to other teachers

   p. how students get along with one another

   q. extra-curricular activities for students

   r. what other changes can you think of?

In the next few questions, we are interested in whether you feel that teachers in desegregated schools have extraordinary responsibilities. First ...

3. What kinds of problems do teachers in desegregated schools have to be able to handle that teachers in all white or all black schools don't have to handle?

4. To what extent do you feel teachers are expected to teach students what it means to be black or what it means to be white?

5. (If not clear from answer) How do you feel about these expectations? Do you agree with them, disagree with them, ...?

6. What particular kinds of problems do you think white students have in getting along with black students?

Code ______

7. What particular kinds of problems do you think black students have in getting along with white students?

8. To what extent do you feel that teachers are expected to help students in desegregated schools work out these problems?

9. To what extent do you feel that teachers should help students in desegregated schools work out these problems?

10. (If they feel teachers should help) What kinds of methods have you tried to help students in desegregated schools work out these problems?

A final question is on a different subject.

11. Under what circumstances, in your opinion, should a teacher contact a parent?

By the way, we are planning to interview about 30 parents this summer. Is there anything in particular you feel we should ask or is there anything in particular you would like to have included in the questions?

APPENDIX E

PARENT INTERVIEW

Parent Interview
NIE Study

First, I would like to ask you some general questions about ________ School.

1.(a) How did you feel about ________ when ________ first started going there?

(Were you happy? sad?)

(b) What caused you to feel that way?

(c) Have you continued to feel that way, or did your feelings change?

(d) (IF RELEVANT) What happened to change your mind?

2.(a) How do you feel about the progress that ________ made at ____?

(REPHRASE: How do you feel about the education ________ got at ____?)

(b) What pleased you about it?

(c) What displeased you about it?

(d) (IF DISPLEASED) What did you do about that?

(e) What do you think would have helped ________ make even more progress than he/she did?

3.(a) How well do you feel you knew what was going on over at ?

(b) Did you have a chance to go over and talk with any of the teachers or the principal?

(c) What did you do (or, what would you have done) when things happened at school that you didn't like?

(IF TOO VAGUE) Suppose that a teacher did something to ________ that you didn't like; what would you do?

Now, let me ask some questions about other schools.

4. How do you feel about the schools in ____ in general? Suppose that somebody you know was moving here from out of town and asked you about the schools in ____. How would you describe the schools to this person?

5.(a) What are your thoughts about the present school board?

(b) Do you ever go to any of the school board meetings?

(c) Are you involved in any organizations that have anything to do with the schools?

(d) (IF YES) What are those organizations?

Next, I want to ask your opinion on a couple of specific issues that the school board has been discussing lately. One is the issue of social promotion and the other is attendance.

6. What do you think should be done about students who miss a lot of school?

7. What about this question of social promotion or passing a student on to the next grade when they haven't done very well? Under what circumstances do you feel a teacher should hold a student back?

Now, I have a few questions on school desegregation.

8. What was it like when the schools were first desegregated here in ____?

(PROBE: From your experience, or from what you heard, how did the parents, the community, and the students react to the desegregation of the schools?)

9. Thinking about ______ schools as they are today, what would you say have been the main failures and the main successes of school desegregation?

Finally, I have a few brief questions about how long you've lived in ____, how far you've gone in school, and how far you hope ______________ goes in school.

10. How many years have you lived in the city of ____? ____________ 12-13/99

11. How many years have you lived in this neighborhood? ____________ 14-15/99

12. In what state were you raised? ____________________ 16-17/99
(IF the person lived in a number of states, choose the one in which they spent the majority of time during their first 16 years.)

13. (IF RAISED IN NORTH CAROLINA) In what county were you raised? ____________ 18-19/999
(IF the person lived in a number of NC counties, choose the one in which they spent the majority of time during their first 16 years.)

14. Was the town you were raised in:
smaller than ____ 1
about the same size as ____ 2 20/9
larger than ____ 3

15. How far have you gone in school so far?
Less than high school.................1
High school graduate..................2
Post high school training.............3
College graduate......................4 21/9
Post-graduate training................5
Post-graduate degree..................6

16.(a) (IF RAISED IN ____) Did you go to elementary school in ____?
Yes..............1 22/9
No...............2

(b) Did you go to junior high or high school in ____?
Yes..............1 23/9
No...............2

(c) Did you attend college in ____?
Yes..............1 24/9
No...............2

17.(a) How far would you like to see ____________ go in school?

____

____

(Write out answer verbatim,
summarize in categories.
If they say it depends,
ask for a minimum.)

Less than high school	1
High school graduate	2
Post high school training	3
College graduate	4
Post-graduate training	5
Post-graduate degree	6

25/9

(b) Why do you think it's important for ____________ to (Response from 17a)?

18. What's your present occupation? ______________________________

19. What's the present occupation of other people who live in the same house with ______________?

A. ______________________________

B. ______________________________

C. ______________________________

20. How are you related to ______________?

(step)mother	1
(step)father	2
aunt or uncle	3
grandparent	4
older (step)sister	5
older (step)brother	6
other relative	7
other non-relative	8

26/9

OTHER COMMENTS they might have:

THANK THEM FOR THEIR TIME ---

APPENDIX F

FIELD NOTES ON RELATIONSHIPS OF GRANDIN TEACHERS AND STUDENTS TO THE RESEARCHERS

8/29/75 I was standing in the main entrance hall while the students filed into the building. A boy came up and asked: "Are you a newspaper reporter?" I said no. Boy: "What are you doing here?" Researcher: "I'm doing a study at your school." Boy: "What are you writing?" Researcher: "Writing down the things you do." Boy: "Everything I do?" Researcher: "What you're doing when I see you." Boy: "Oh, God."

9/2/75 I came to Mrs. Holland's room and asked would it be OK if I sat back in the corner today to observe. She said, "OK, how long will you be here?" I said for the morning. She said: "I thought you said you wouldn't be spending much time in our rooms. Are you just going to spend an hour or two?" I repeated our one half day a week schedule. She asked if that would be one hour a day. I said it could be or it could be just the one half day and then be done with it for the week. She said: "OK, sit down, I have a lot to do and don't have time to talk."

9/18/75 The teacher is trying to give the class instructions on how to do the assignment. The class members are talking to each other. The teacher yells out: "She's ((the researcher)) watching us so you better be good."

9/30/75 The class is working on an art project, I am sitting in the rear. Theodore, Arlene, and two other black students come back to ask me what I'm doing. Arelene asks, "Writing bad things about us? Writing about the class to the principal?" Some other questions follow: "Are you in college? When will you finish?" They ask me about my relationship to Mr. _____ (the aide) and to _____ (the student teacher). When the teacher comes back in they disperse.

About 15 minutes later a white girl comes up to me. She begins by saying "I like school, don't you?" I say yes. She says she has only one problem and that's Math. "I've already had all ((the material)) we're having here because I'm in a 'resource' class. ((She means ET.)) See, I wasn't in this school last year." I ask her what school she went to. "________, a private school." I ask where it is. She answers it's in a nearby town and goes on to tell me that at that school they had covered all this. "But now I'm in a special resource class for those who are ahead." She also told me that she's allowed to go to the Book Room and get books to read. "Fast readers" are allowed to. She goes on to tell that Theodore is her enemy and the trouble is that he sits in front of her.

8/30/76 Mr. Evens seemed a bit nervous about being observed. He said that when someone observes, he makes them teach. He seemed to accept our explanation that it was important that we not be seen as teachers in the eyes of the students.

9/16/76 Cory tries to read my notes in class. Pete says to Cory: "That white man ((Harding)) said we're not supposed to see what you're writing."

10/21/76 Jane asked me what name I was going to use for her in the book. I told her "Jane". Jane: "You remembered!" Later she told me she had forgotten. She said a couple of things about the study such as, "Is the book going to be ready next year? Why did you follow us to the 6th grade?" I told her, "Because you are important." She said, "No we aren't." Later she asked me why we chose Grandin. I told her because at the time it was larger. She told me we ought to follow them to junior high.

11/29/76 T.J. entered the cafeteria. I sat down across from Jordan, Jerome, and T.J. They seemed to change their posture when I came. They were friendly to me, but seemed to get a little straighter. T.J. started helping me write the seating chart. T.J. asked me some questions about "the book" (on the study of the school): "When will it be published?" He wanted me to use his real name. I told him I couldn't. He chose as a pseudonym, "TJ". T.J. then asked me why Harding is called a doctor. They said, "Is he really a doctor?" I explained what a Ph.D. is. Then Mack asked me if Harding had ever dug anything up. I explained the difference between an archeologist and other anthropologists. He talked to me some more. A few minutes later he said, "I'm an anthropologist, I'm going to dig up people's brains."

12/16/76 As I was coming in, Marvin says, "Hi, Joe! -- You coming in here today?" Pete also says, "Hey Joe." Marvin asks if I can stay until 2:30 -- through math. He gives me some stickers to hold until he comes back.

12/17/76 Arlene and Jane asked me to play "jackrocks" so I did. They were worried about my clothes getting dirty. I told them I hadn't played for 20 years. Jane: "You're 32." (M.E. had told her -- she remembers my age but not my name.) Arlene started teasing me, "Girl, you're pushing the years." She teased me later on about "my friend" (M.E.). "She looks real mean, she don't socialize or nothing." At one point I said "damn" when I missed on threesies. Jane acted shocked. Arlene got on Jane for being shocked about cursing. When Arlene started teasing me about M.E., I said, "I'm going to tell her." Arlene counter threatened me by saying she'd tell M.E. I was cursing. Jane: "Then I'll tell her you were cursing."

Mrs. Marsh goes off to help Mrs. Grant in the gym. After a few minutes Mrs. Marsh sent back work asking me to keep an eye on things -- not let the students "go through the roof". I watched the class for about one half hour, took some pictures, herded them back into the room from the hall, gave permission to go to the bathroom, etc. Later Mrs. Marsh apologized for having left the class for so long; she mentioned "all morning."

1/24/77 It began snowing shortly after I arrived in the morning. At one o'clock they got the word to close school early. Mrs. Grant asked if I would take a couple of students home because they would have a long way to walk. I said I would. Mrs. Marsh then said I shouldn't do that because if I had an accident the school would get into trouble. She thought the students should stay with the bus where they had the proper insurance. Mrs. Grant then had them go on the bus. Mrs. Grant then asked if I could take two of the other teachers home. One had tried to leave and then said she was afraid to drive and was going to leave her car at school. Mrs. Grant told them I could get through since I had grown up in Iowa and was used to snow. I took the two of them home with no trouble.

2/3/77 I was going to do the seating chart, but I got into this incredible talk with Tricia. I felt as though I were talking to a very intelligent adult. (I always think she's smart but sometimes she doesn't talk as an adult would.) DCC: "That was a good question you asked me this morning." Tricia looked a little strange -- then pleased. Tricia: "Thank you." DCC: "How did you know that anthropologists usually do talk to people more?" Tricia: "Well I'll tell you, my mother's family adopted a son, a boy -- and he wanted to become one. He worked at it for 5 years, but it never amounted to anything." DCC: "You mean he was in school or doing research?" Tricia: "He was in school, but he didn't finish. You know, the first lesson in our social studies book was about anthropology. I went home and I asked my mother what it was. She explained it. That woman talked to me the other day." DCC: "Margo?" Tricia: "No, the one that's big. She came to see my mother ((about Talking Diary interview)) and she's coming again." DCC: "Good." Tricia: "You know you can't learn anything from observation because everybody acts different when you're here." DCC: "What do you mean?" Tricia: "Well, say -- see those two people?" (It was a black girl and a white girl.) "They wouldn't be sitting there laughing and talking if you weren't here. They change the way they act." Anytime you are here or Dr. Harding or Miss ____." DCC: "Byrd." Tricia: "Yeah, Byrd. Anytime one of you is here they change their behavior." DCC: "Well I think you are right that there is some difference, but I don't agree that there can be a lot of difference. We are here a lot. How could everyone not act normal all that time?" Tricia: "Well not everybody acts different. Like me. I did at first, but once I understood what you were doing, that you weren't going to get me in trouble, then I didn't act different. See, before when we thought you were just studying how black and white people get along, then we would act differently. Like somebody wouldn't sit here beside a white person like this." (She is sitting next to a white girl, Sara.) "I mean, they would sit beside them but not like this. They would stare at them." (She looks at Sara like, "What are you doing here, girl?") "We just stare at them." DCC: "How did you know that's what we are studying?" Tricia: "Oh, a teacher told us." DCC: "Who? ... Mrs. Wood?" Tricia: "Yeah." (Note: Its plausible that Wood did tell them this; maybe even in an effort to get them to modify their behavior.) Tricia: "Now, some of us act differently and others don't. Like remember that time that Jan told you to write down that Theodore cursed? Remember the time she told you that and you did it?" DCC: "Yes". Tricia:" "What you should've said was, 'What did he say?'" (Tricia said this in a challenging way.) "You should've said that because she wouldn't have said it to you. After you left, she said it. Once we found out that you were writing a book about the school, how people get along and how they communicate with each other and so on, then it was different. Like I said, well if she writes it down she writes it down. Like you don't write down that we curse or that we fight." (Here I started to get confused about exactly what she thought we were writing down.) I was trying to find out how she could get into trouble for not being nice to a white girl. I can understand why they would get into trouble if we told of their transgressions of rules like fighting and so forth, but I didn't see how they could get into trouble for sins of omission, i.e., not laughing and talking with white kids. When I started asking about this by saying, "Tricia, suppose you acted like you said toward Sara and I wrote it down. How could you get into trouble?" She protested that I wouldn't be writing that Sara was white, she was black, but rather Sara and Tricia. DCC: "Well, suppose I did? How could my writing it down get you in trouble?" Tricia: "If you wrote down that I was fighting or cursing, that could get me into trouble." I could never get clear on whether bad inter-color relations would get anyone in trouble. I think what Tricia was telling me was that whatever people think you are observing for -- be it black/white relations or transgressions such as fighting and cursing, they will modify their behavior. (Note her level of social inference.) And, that even after they find out what you are doing, some will continue to modify their behavior. She went on to say something about the book -- how she wouldn't like to try to write it and she felt sorry for the secretary who would have to type it all. I told her I would tell the secretary that Tricia was thinking about her.

Tricia got up and took her tray up. Our conversation was getting into a sort of muddle. After she came back and played around a little with her money, she got up and went somewhere and then came back and asked me if I wanted her to take my tray up. I thanked her.

2/9/77 When a student was asked if any researchers had been in the room when an incident she was describing later actually happened, she replied, "They might have been there but not in that room. I don't think they was in our room then....they might have been, cause I'm used to them, cause they come in alot in different rooms....sometimes I don't see them.

Most times I don't even look over there cause they always sit in the back."

2/12/76 Paul was working on valentines. He asked my name and then gave me a valentine. "Mrs. Climent" was written on the front. Then he asked me if we interviewed people twice. I said yes. Then he told the other boys that we paid him for the interview. He wanted to be interviewed again, he told me, because he wanted to buy a mouse. He wanted to get rid of his hamster and buy a mouse.

2/14/77 (Re: Harding to another researcher) "He writes about me more than he writes about anybody. Cause I talk more. I been up there to talk to him sometimes. Teacher come in and she say 'sit down, Edward', an' then he writes that." Later the boy said he wanted to participate in the Talking Diary interviews because it would please the researchers and make his mother proud.

2/15/77 When asked what she thought the observer was going in the classroom, a girl answered, "Write down how you be actin', what you doin'; write down everything you say; they write down the important parts what you say about people and stuff. ...they have to learn how we sit, like, the row and then they put the names of whoever's on the row. OK, it's like Belinda and them like to be talking and playing ((and they write)), 'Marlys and Belinda be playing with Earl'".

3/1/77 Two students coming down the hall arguing: TJ: "Mars is in the universe." Mack: "No it's not." (Mack spots researcher.) Mack to Harding: "Dr. Harding, Dr. Harding, tell him that Mars is not in the universe, it's in the world." Harding answers -- something about it being in the solar system.

Teacher is talking to boys about growing a beard as part of growing up, says the less beard you have, the better off you are. Some are hard to shave off. "If you get real lazy, like Dr. Harding, you just don't shave it at all." Later he says he wouldn't have said that about Dr. Harding if he hadn't known him fairly well: "He knows I don't care if he has a beard or not. He wants one, I don't." Teacher goes on to tell class not to make fun of others just because they wear hair in different ways.

3/2/77 A teacher to one of the researchers upon entering a classroom: "You're welcome but sometimes it makes it harder for me to control them when someone different comes into the room -- its hard to get the class behind me."

3/7/77 Arlene came up to me in the hall and told me I had given her the wrong phone number to call to go skating. Arlene and others around said they wanted to go skating next time, too.

3/18/77 Martha is hassling me about interviewing her so she won't have to go to practice for an extra-curricular event. I finally agree and she goes to ask her teacher.

Sally was asking me about the book: "What will it be called? I asked for her suggestion. Sally: "The Good Children and the Bad Children." She then moves on to the pseudonym question. She tells me she wants 'Sally'; if there is another Sally, she wants 'Jeanette'. A little later she tells me 'Jamie' -- Bionic Woman." About this time Marie comes up and starts looking at my notes. I tell her I was trying to learn the rules for jackrocks. Marie starts to tell me and then decides I must be jiving. She says, "Oh, you know how!" She looks at Martha for confirmation and taps her on the arm in an inclusionary gesture against me.

3/22/77 On my way out of the building I ran into Mrs. . She started talking to me about Cynthia. She said I should be sure to watch the "weird things" Cynthia does in class. She also said I should notice Cynthia's clothes and the things she writes on her desk.

5/7/77 In response to my question about what makes students mad at teachers, T.J. started talking about how teachers react to visitors being in the room. He explained that most teachers don't change what they do when visitors are in the room, but ____________(one teacher) lets you get away with things and doesn't get mad when someone else is there. Then when that person leaves, the students would get in trouble.

5/9/77 Edward: "You know them ladies at school that comes and writes about us? That ain't right." Interviewer: "Why not?" Edward: "She write everything you say. 'Cause this girl was talking about her house and how it was in a mess and that lady wrote it down. She writes down everything...it shouldn't be right to write about people's homes -- you should write 'cause they came to see how blacks and whites get along." Interviewer: "Don't you think it would help to understand that if you understood what their home was like?" Edward: "No, it still wouldn't help, 'cause people want privacy in their own home."

5/17/77 At the end of the interview I asked Tricia to give me some comments about it. She said, "Very nice." Then she went into her rap about how you can't tell what people are doing by how they act. She said that a lot of what you see is "fake stuff." She gave me the example that perhaps I would come into the room and I see Tricia talking to a teacher and I think, oh, Tricia likes that teacher, but maybe that's not why she's talking to her. She also gave me the example of seeing someone walking across the street with boots on: "I can't tell why they are wearing boots unless I ask them." She gave me a number of reasons why some one would be wearing boots. She also talked about how people modify their behavior. She gave the example of herself going to Nigeria and how the people would be extra-nice to her and extra-this and extra-that when she came and it was a big deal.

6/10/77 Notes taken by Belinda during the last dance session on the last day of school

1. The kids at ((Grandin)) School enjoys dancing.
2. One of the dances they like to do off of a slow record is too slow drag.
3. Some of the children dance like they are about 50 years old But you shouldn't pick.
4. The Boys are always asking me to dance But mostly I say no.
5. Today is June 10 the last day of school and they are really having fun.
6. Some of the Boys and girls can really dance.
7. When we be righting these notes the children want to see what we have written about them
8. It is Ten 32
9. I will miss most of the children but part of them I will see next year.
10. Most of the students are nice to me.
11. Right now Tricia and Jackson is slow dragging
12. Eugene tries to sing.
13. Helga said she was going to get Virginia for slow draging with Eugene.
14. These are some of the people who are dancing. Jackson, Regina, Rene, Leticia, Janice, Sherby, Debby, Jan, Melvin, Shirley, Arlene, Helga, Joseph, Pete, Howard, Tricia, Belinda that's me.

To Mrs. Climent Mrs. Burg and Joe so long.

6/10/77 Notes taken by Evelyn during the last dance session on the last day of school.

1. Rene is hollering out the good thing man and Mrs. Climins is dancing with Rene.
2. Arlene is dancing with Howard.
3. Pete asked Belinda to dance with him.
4. People who are dancing:

Debby-Caroline
Lavonia-Joyce
Thelma-Marie
Jackson-Rene
Bernice-Debby
Joseph-Rene
Gordon-Leticia
Tricia-Jackson
Jane-Stanley
Caroline-Leroy
Janice-Rene-Regina
Howard-Helga
Debby-Melvin
Caroline-Betsy
Marie-Stanley
Janice-Gordon
Elvira-Louise

Regina-Gordon
Marie-Pete
Jan-Arthur
Regina-Howard
Leticia-Elton
Jane-Matt
Janice-Pete
Marie-Shirley
Helga-Gordon
Leticia-Howard
Belinda-Debby-Melvin
Melvin-Jane

5. Caroline quit dancing with Leroy.
6. Gordon walking around the room
7. Eugene begging Belinda to read her paper.
8. Rene has Joseph by the coller.

On the Blackboard: Joseph Loves Rene and Trudy Always in hope
Mandy Wrote: Disco time for everyone
Rene hanging on to Joseph
Belinda and Mandy dancing.
Regina is doing one of her wild acts again.
Regina walking around singing. Regina don't want to dance with Melvin and Delmont.
Howard Arlene Tricia and Jackson slow draging and crying. it was about 8 after 11.
Arlene hollered out everybody is getting there eyes full. I going to dance for awhile.
Arlene fight Matt/ Janice's crying.
Joseph about to cry/ Regina is crying and Belinda's crying and Rene. /Gordon is crying/ Mr. King is Dancing with Leticia. Joe is Dancing / Marlys.

6/16/77 I had arranged to meet Mrs. Morris at 11:00. We started off talking about her plans for the summer. After a few minutes she said: "There's something you should really know about ... it's really been bothering me ... you all might be able to help...."

APPENDIX G

APPLICATION FORM AND COLLECTION GUIDELINES FOR FREE OR REDUCED MEALS AND FREE MILK

Name of Teacher____________________________

APPLICATION

Date ___________________________

To apply for free or reduced-price meals and free milk for your children, fill out and return it to the school office. Each child will have to have an application.

Name and grade of child for whom application is made: _______________________________

____

____

Name and address of parent or guardian: ____

____

Total number in family: _______________

Total family income before deductions. Include wages of all working members, welfare payments, pensions, social security, and all other income. Fill in one:

Yearly__________Monthly__________Weekly__________Every 2 weeks__________Other_________

If your gross family income exceeds the amount indicated in the attached family income scale and you wish to apply under any of the special hardship conditions cited in the attached letter, please complete the application form and also describe the nature of your hardship here: ____

____

Estimated Dollar Value____

In certain cases foster children are eligible for free or reduced-price meals and free milk regardless of your family income. If you have foster children living with you and wish to apply for such meals and milk for them please check here: ___________

I hereby certify that all of the above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

____

Signature of Adult Family Member

FOR SCHOOL USE ONLY DO NOT DETACH

- -

Date __________________________

Approved or Denied by

____

__________Approved for free meals and free milk

__________Approved for reduced-price meals at 20 cents for lunch and 10 cents for breakfast

__________Denied for the following reason:

____

____

January 5, 1976

Dear Parent or Guardian:

The ________________________________ School serves nutritious lunches every school day. Kindergarten lunches are 40 cents; elementary lunches, 50 cents; junior and senior high lunches, 60 cents; extra milk is 7 cents. In schools with a breakfast program, the price of a breakfast is 20 cents.

Children from families whose income is at or below the levels shown on the attached scale are eligible for free milk and for meals free or at the reduced prices of 20 cents for lunch and 10 cents for breakfast. If your income is greater than those shown but you have unusually high medical bills, shelter costs in excess of 30 percent of your income, special education expenses due to the mental or physical condition of a child, or disaster or casualty losses, your children may still be eligible.

To apply at any time during the year for free or reduced-price meals and free milk for your children, complete the attached application and return it to the school. Within 5 days of receiving your application, the school will let you know whether or not your children are eligible. If you do not agree with the school's decision you have a right to a fair hearing. This can be done by calling or writing Mr. , Business Manager; Dr. , Assistant Superintendent for Planning and Special Programs; Dr. , Assistant Superintendent for General Administration; or Mrs. , Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction. These people can be reached by mail at County Schools, P. O. Box , , North Carolina ; the telephone number is .

In certain cases, foster children are also eligible for these benefits. If you have foster children living with you and wish to apply for such meals and milk for them, please notify us or indicate it on the application.

All children are treated the same regardless of ability to pay. In the operation of child feeding programs, no child will be discriminated against because of his race, sex, color or national origin.

If there is a change in your family's income due to reasons such as unemployment or if there is a change in your family size, please contact us. This change may make your children eligible for reduced price meals, or for additional benefits such as free meals and milk.

If we can be of any further assistance or if your income changes during the year, please contact us.

FAMILY-SIZE AND INCOME SCALE FOR FREE & REDUCED PRICE MEALS & FREE MILK

This is the income scale used by the Durham County Board of Education to determine eligibility for Free and Reduced-Price Meals and Free Milk in the 1975-76 school year.

Family Size	Free	Reduced
1	0 - 3230	3231 - 5040
2	0 - 4240	4241 - 6620
3	0 - 5250	5251 - 8200
4	0 - 6260	6261 - 9770
5	0 - 7190	7191 - 11210
6	0 - 8110	8111 - 12650
7	0 - 8950	8951 - 13970
8	0 - 9790	9791 - 15280
9	0 - 10550	10551 - 16460
10	0 - 11310	11311 - 17640
11	0 - 12060	12061 - 18820
12	0 - 12810	12811 - 20000
Each additional family member	750	1180

For Lunch Program schools operating on the Special Milk Program, children eligible for free lunches are eligible for one half pint of milk per day served free. In addition, the child may buy extra milk, but only the one given free will be reimbursed at dealer's cost.

POLICY STATEMENT FOR FREE AND REDUCED-PRICE MEALS AND FREE MILK

The ______________________________ has agreed to participate in the National School Lunch Program, School Breakfast Program, Special Milk Program, to receive commodities donated by USDA and accepts responsibility for providing free and reduced-price meals and free milk to eligible children in the schools under its jurisdiction. The school food authority assures the State Department of Public Instruction, School Food Services Division, that the school system will uniformly implement the following policy to determine children's eligibility for free and reduced-price meals in all National School Lunch Program, School Breakfast Program, and commodity-only schools under its jurisdiction and to determine children's eligibility for free milk in all Special Milk Program schools under its jurisdiction. In fulfilling its responsibilities the school food authority:

A. Agrees to serve meals free to children from families whose income is at or below that listed in Attachment A.

B. Agrees to serve milk free to children from families whose income is at or below that listed in Attachment A.

C. Agrees to serve meals at a reduced-price to children from families whose income is at or below that listed in Attachment B.[1]

D. Agrees to provide these benefits to any child whose family's income falls within the criteria in Attachment A or B after deductions are made for special hardship conditions which could not reasonably be anticipated or controlled by the household, due to unusually high medical expenses, shelter costs in excess of 30 percent of reported income, special education expenses due to the mental or physical condition of a child, and disaster or casualty losses; in addition, agrees to provide these benefits to foster children in certain cases.

[1] Note: If the school food authority has determined that it will not serve reduced-price meals, this reference and Attachment B should be deleted.

E. Agrees that there will be no physical segregation of, nor any other discrimination against, any child because of his inability to pay the full price of the meal or milk. The names of the children eligible to receive free or reduced-price meals and free milk shall not be published, posted, or announced in any manner and there shall be no overt identification of any such children by use of special tokens or tickets or any other means. Further assurance is given that children eligible for free or reduced-price meals or free milk shall not be required to:

1. Work for their meals or milk
2. Use a separate lunchroom
3. Go through a separate serving line
4. Enter the lunchroom through a separate entrance
5. Eat meals or drink milk at a different time
6. Eat a meal different from the one sold to children paying the full price or drink milk different from that sold to children paying the full price.

METHODS OF COLLECTION

1) Students go to designated areas (e.g., school office, cafeteria manager's office, school nurse, etc.) at varying times during the day. At such times those who pay full or reduced price do so and are issued a numbered ticket or token good for either a day or week as the case may be. Weekly tickets may be sold at a slight discount (e.g., daily cash charge 30 cents, weekly ticket $1.25). Those students who receive free meals are given their ticket or token. All tickets or tokens are identical, except for code numbers known only to authorized school personnel and used for accounting purposes. At all times, when paying, when tickets or tokens are issued, and at breakfast and/or lunch the anonymity of free and reduced price recipients is protected.

2) The homeroom teacher provides each child with an envelope for daily or weekly payments. Pupils return the envelopes with payment if paying full or reduced price or empty if free either to the homeroom teacher or to the school office. At a specified time either the homeroom teacher or school office issues tickets or tokens accordingly. All tickets or tokens are identical except for code numbers known only to authorized school personnel and used for accounting purposes. At all times when paying, when tickets or tokens are issued, and at lunch the anonymity of free and reduced price recipients is protected.

3) All students who pay full or reduced price, purchase weekly tickets at designated area and at varying times (to preclude possibility of lines, etc.) during the day. The school office will mail weekly tickets to the families of those children who are eligible for free lunches. All tickets are identical except for code numbers known only to

authorized personnel and used for accounting purposes. At all times, when paying, when tickets or tokens are issued, and at lunch the anonymity of free and reduced price recipients is protected. Recommended for use in smaller schools.

4) In some schools an all cash system can be used in the lunchroom. Needy students will be issued the money required for purchase of lunch. It will be the responsibility of school officials to insure that this money is used for the lunch. The issuing and monitoring procedure shall be done in such a manner that the needy pupil does not suffer embarrassment or identification.

5) All students either pay cash or charge their lunches. Full paying and reduced price students are billed accordingly each month. Free students receive no bill. For proper identification of all students, full paying, reduced price, or free, a school identification card may be shown to the cashier. (If this procedure is used, it is necessary that an adequate number of paying students take advantage of the charge system.)

6) (a) The homeroom teacher will have each child come up to her desk individually and state whether he is going to eat the school lunch that day. The teacher will have a list of which children pay full price, reduced price, or receive free lunches and will collect accordingly and give out tickets or tokens at this time. All tickets or tokens are identical, except for code numbers used for accounting purposes known only to authroized school personnel. Only tickets or tokens will be exchanged in the lunchroom.

6) (b) The homeroom teacher will have each child come up to her desk individually and state whether he is going to eat the school lunch

that day. The teacher will have a list of which children pay full price, reduced price, or receive free lunches and will collect accordingly. The homeroom teacher accompanies the class to the lunchroom, makes a daily report of the number of lunches and turns in money collected.

7) A school employee (e.g., lunchroom aide, teacher's aide) will come to each homeroom and have each child come individually to the door of the classroom and state whether he is going to eat the school lunch that day. The employee will have a list of which children pay full price, reduced price, or receive free lunches and will collect accordingly and give out tickets or tokens at this time. All tickets or tokens are identical, except for code numbers used for accounting purposes known only to authorized school personnel. Only tickets or tokens will be exchanged in the lunchroom.

8) Other -- (Describe in detail)

APPENDIX H

RECOMMENDATIONS

The summary of the emergent order at Grandin presented in Chapter 11 has by necessity drawn general patterns where in fact there are many variations. The problems outlined are not obscure to all the participants at Grandin. Many of the problems were, in fact, ones pointed out by them. By the same token, the following recommendations are in part crafted from the procedures and processes with which some teachers have already experimented. In the two years of the study and in the years preceding the study, a number of innovative steps have been taken. Within the classroom, and the district as well, the amount of variation and the amount of innovation that take place provide a number of opportunities to observe how various alternatives seem to work. Primarily, the solutions presented are those which we have seen attempted on a limited basis by people at Grandin and which helped to ameliorate some of the problems discerned from our analysis. In presenting these recommendations, we have dealt, as in the report itself, with the social effects of desegregated schooling.

In order to move toward a more integrated system, the following areas need to be addressed:

1. Increasing the Availability of Resource Classes

Recent work in multicultural approaches might lend support to the present direction being taken concerning the reward system offered by the schools. Bradford City Schools have already moved away from the traditional school reward system with its reliance upon rewarding and punishing students relative to differential academic achievement. In its place has been a limited movement toward resource programs. These programs should be expanded and need not be viewed simply as a means to help those who do not perform well on standardized tests. Rather, at least as they are conducted at Grandin, they constitute a diversification of modes of instruction for those who, for whatever reason, do not profit sufficiently from the regular approach.

At present there are pressures within the Bradford community to return to a more traditional system. Were there to be a return to the old system rather than an attempt to develop a new system (building, for example, on the direction already begun which focuses on alternative modes of instruction geared to the strengths, weaknesses, and orientations of the particular students), we would expect that lower-income children will continue to show relatively poor results and, thus, that black children, who are over-represented among low-income groups, will continue to experience lower educational achievement. The Bradford schools have begun to create a new approach. At present, however, there are not enough openings in these programs to accommodate all those who are eligible.

2. Information and Socilization About Social Race

Given the importance of the questions that students ask and the misperceptions that students have about social race, some effort should be devoted to continually updating teacher's information about these topics. The relative contributions of genetic inheritance and environmental inputs to explaining behavioral differences is certainly not settled in the scientific world. However, teachers need to be kept up-to-date on what is accepted and what is controversial. The recognition of black and southern dialects of English as legitimate dialects versus a series of errors should be made available to all teachers as should the rejection of the notion of cultural deprivation as an explanation of school failure. The district should make resources available to teachers through in-service training options or some other means so that this knowledge might be updated.

Aside from the effort of the district to include black history, the socialization of students about issues related to social race is left to the teacher's discretion. Because the students tend to be informally segregated, the main opportunity for significantly augmenting their understanding of social-race issues and social-race relations is through the teacher's efforts. This seems to unfairly place a great responsibility on the teacher's shoulders. Not only must he or she decide how important the topic is but also what the goals of such socialization should be: Should students learn the history of social-race relations? Do black students in particular need to know about the history of the black struggle for equality? Should all students learn the meanings that are attached to behavioral styles with which they are not familiar? Given the sensitivity of these topics and the many associated problems, many teachers simply avoid the topic. Probably these questions are ones which need to be decided by the community -- by parents, teachers, community leaders, administrators, and students. They are very important questions, yet at present they are answered by default. In considering these questions, those concerned might review recent work in multicultural approaches to elementary and secondary schooling. These approaches are aimed at more fully integrating the ethnic and cultural heritage of minority groups into the school curriculum (see Clement, Eisenhart, and Wood 1976 for a review of some of the relevant literature). The newly created system-wide advisory council might be a good forum for discussion of the goals of socialization about social race. Another possible community forum would be organization of another charrette.

3. Student Understanding of Cultural Differences and Conflicts Related to Social Race

Some of the teachers at Grandin organized events which were useful for students' acquisition of knowledge about black and white styles. These types of events might be increased as they seemed to have positive results. A few teachers held class meetings or class discussions or rap sessions. In some of these, types or styles of student behavior were discussed; in others, types of teacher behavior were discussed. These sessions seemed to have the positive benefit of allowing a release of anger and of allowing the students to get some information on alternative styles of behavior. In the cases observed, the teacher lead the discussion and asked questions to guide the students in thinking about alternative viewpoints. Although there were difficultities with the manner in which some were arranged,[1] these practices could be adopted on a more widescale basis. Another way of allowing students to gain familiarity with different styles is through symbolic presentations which depict characters displaying certain identities or facing certain problems. Good literature or films would be ideal. Another possibility is to allow students to present skits. It was interesting that in a talent show organized by one of the teachers, one of the few positive representations of social race for a mixed audience occurred. Especially where teachers have the information to help students sort out their feelings and questions, symbolic presentations organized by students would be very useful.

4. Mechanisms for Increasing Positive Student Interaction

A commonplace notion regarding small-scale societies is that the units of the society are often cross-cut by other social divisions such that the society is held together. The same principle seems to operate in a small-scale social system like a desegregated school. The division of the school participants along social-race lines is cross-cut by other social divisions such as classroom organization. We have also found that smaller groups which are homogeneous in status and treated as a unit tend to provide a basis for relationships in which social-race barriers are overcome. The operation of such cohesion in the case of combination classes and class officers suggests that teachers might increase use of the principle of small-group cohesion. A possibility other than those already used would be to organize permanent groups for certain activities. Contests centering around academic tasks, for example, are exciting to students. In fact, teachers are able to use spelling bees, math contests, or academic baseball as rewarding activities. One teacher who tried a debate in her class found students wanted to skip their break. It might be possible to form standing groups or teams within the class that would be grouped together for academic activities of a contest type. Teachers might consider adopting this strategy or some other approach to creating small groups that have a distinctive status and whose members are dependent upon one another to achieve certain tasks.[2]

Notes

1. One problem that was noted by observers and in the Talking Diary interviews was that in two or three such discussions, individual members of the class were criticized directly. This made some of the white students in the class very uncomfortable and perhaps interferred with their assimilation of the material.

2. These groups should be able to achieve rewards rather than be liable for punishment. In one class where a student teacher attempted to organize the class into small groups in which members were mutually responsible for one another's behavior, the effort failed. Students resented being responsible for the bad behavior of others. These groups were set up for cooperation on their studies as well, but it was clear that to the students the salient feature was responsibility for misbehavior. One student who had been at resource during the teacher's lengthy explanation of the system, returned to find the room in small groups. He whispered to Gordon, asking what was going on. Gordon reduced the system to the following: "If you talk, you get a whuppin'!"